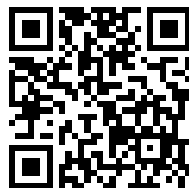

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ETNOLOGISKA STUDIER

24

SOME COSTUMES OF HIGHLAND BURMA

AT

THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM
OF GOTHENBURG

BY

HENNY HARALD HANSEN

ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEET

GÖTEBORG

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THE TRIBES

The small collection of costumes to be described here comes from a group of mountain tribes living in the Shan states of Burma. While the river valleys and the lower mountain sides are inhabited by the Shan themselves higher up in the mountains there are many smaller tribes which differ considerably from the Shan. These mountain people have not, as one might suppose, been driven up into the mountains by the Shan but have settled in there quite logically because of their mode of living, as their special form for agriculture is closely bound to the primeval mountain forests.

“Schauerlich schöne Nächte brechen dann über das Land herein. Es ist die Zeit des ‘Taungya’ für die wilden K’tschin. Das Wort bedeutet ‘Bergreinigen’” — says Gebauer.¹ In Assam this form of agriculture is called “jum”, the Burmese call it “taungya”, the Shan call it “hai”, and the above-mentioned Kachin call it “yi”.² In Scandinavia we use the term “svedjebruk” which can be translated “swidden” cultivation. Each year the mountain tribes slash and burn valuable forest regions, and sow up-land rice on the burned-off land. After the harvest the land is allowed to lie fallow for periods varying from five to twenty-five years or more.³ When all the land within convenient distance from the village has been used the people move their village to a new, virgin forest plot.

This wasteful form of agriculture, not only confines these tribes to the mountain but also necessitates their migrations. Wandering along the ridges of the mountains the tribes push farther and farther down through S. E. Asia. The mountains of the vast peninsula, which stretch from the north to south, have thus furnished the paths along which foreign tribes from the north and northeast slowly but unceasingly have pushed farther and farther south. One must take into consideration this constant wandering when studying the culture of these tribes as it also finds expression in their costumes.

¹ Gebauer, 1912, 438. According to Ward, 1921, 51, the term “taungya” means a mountain slope agriculture without irrigation.

² Kauffmann, 1934, 28.

³ Enriquez, 1923, 89, note 6.

In 1934 Ebba and René Malaise visited twelve mountain tribes in the Shan states of Burma. Examples of both dress material as well as complete costumes were brought back to the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, where the main part of the collection, including among other items twelve complete women's costumes, is on exhibit.

The twelve tribes visited were: Kachin, Maru, Lisu, the two Riang tribes Yang Hsek and Yang Lam, the tribes Intha and Taungyo, and the Karen tribes Skaw Karen or the white Karen, Taungthu, Karen-ni or the red Karen, Zayein and Padaung.

The northernmost of the tribes visited was Kachin. This is the name the Burmese have given them; they call themselves the Chingpaw,¹ which means "human beings". They belong to the Tibetan-Burmese language group. According to their own traditions they have wandered from the north to their present location.

In their legends their place of origin is mentioned as a country called Majoi Shingra Bum, which means "the mountain levelled by Nature", and possibly it is identical with one or another of the Central Asian plateaus.² Ola Hansson, quoted by Henriques, gives Mongolias's high plains and boundary regions between eastern Tibet and western Szechuan as the possible place of origin for this tribe and concludes with the words that "here stood the cradle not only of the Kachin but also of the Burmans and other Mongolian tribes."³

About two hundred years ago the tribe Kachin lived around the Irrawaddy's two tributaries Malikha and Nmaikha. The Kachin people began to spread out during the eighteenth century. In the year 1783 they appeared in Assam, and their southwards movement seems to have begun at this time, however not gaining any speed until the nineteenth century. During this period the Shan as well as the Burmese and the Palaung were driven farther to the south. When the Burmese kingdom collapsed in the year 1885, the northern provinces were almost completely under the rule of the Kachin tribes. Hence forth the migration of the tribes took a south-eastern direction but continued steadily.⁴ In our time we find the Kachin

¹ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 99. Ward, 1921, 294, spells the name »ching-paw».

² Enriquez, 1923, 239.

³ Enriquez, 1923, 19, quotes Ola Hanson, *The Kachins*. American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon 1913.

⁴ Cf. Wehrli, 1904, 3 "von Tibet aus nach Süden". Scott, 1932, 173, "Of the Kachins there cannot be much doubt. Their traditions point to a first home somewhere south of the desert of Gobi". Gilhodes, 1910, 617 "Les Katchins ne sont pas aborigènes mais viennent du Nord et probablement de quelque partie de Tibet". Lowis, 1902, 117.

in the mountains around the Irrawaddy, north of Bhamo, in the provinces by the upper Chindwin, in a little section of Assam, in the western part of the Chinese province Yünnan, and in the northern Shan states, where a few groups have wandered across the river Salween.

The tribe Maro or Maru¹ also belongs to the Tibetan-Burmese language group. This tribe now found east of Myitkyina and Bhamo, while earlier found near the Irrawaddy's tributary Nmaikha, is closely related to the Kachin² and has taken part in the migrations of the Kachin tribe.³ The Maru as well as the Kachin people are related in language to the Burmese, and the theory has appeared that the Maru actually are a small group of pure Burmese who remained while the majority of the people wandered on and inhabited Burma itself.⁴

Scott describes the tribe Maru as an extremely unclean people. When they burn off their lands before the mountain rice is to be planted, they grease their bodies and hands with a mixture of perspiration and ashes and they wouldn't dream of washing themselves.⁵

The youngest group and at the same time the most eastern branch of the Tibetan-Burmese language group are represented by the tribe Lisu. They are called Lisu by the Chinese. The Shan people call them Yawyin. These two terms have been the cause of a misunderstanding. Thus Scherman writes that around Myitkyina and Bhamo the tribe Lihsaw is known by the name of Yawyin, which the Kachin have used, but that this term can easily be mistaken to mean the Yao, a tribe from which several groups have crossed over the Yünnan boundary and gone into the southern Shan states, into the state Kentung, where among other names they too are called Yawyin.⁶ Heine-Geldern calls the same tribe Yao or Yaoyen, in Tonkin Man, and during the last three to four hundred years it has come from Kwangse to Tonkin and in recent times spread across Yünnan and into the British Shan states and into northern Siam.⁷ But this tribe should not be confused with the tribe Lisu. In regard to the terms Lisu and Yaoyen, Ward is of the opinion that Lisu is a tribal name while Yaoyen is a clan within the tribe.⁸

¹ Wehrli, 1904, 16, spells the name Maru (Maroos).

² Kauffmann, 1934, 19. Lowis, 1902, 77 ff.

³ Heine-Geldern, 1923, 735.

⁴ Enriquez, 1923, 24.

⁵ Scott, 1932, 170.

⁶ Scherman, 1922, 123 ff.

⁷ Heine-Geldern, 1923, 744. Cf. Lunet de Lajonquière, 1906, 215.

⁸ Ward, 1921, 136, note 1. Cf. Woodthorpe, 1897, 27, "Yao-Yin". Lowis, 1902, 79, "Lisaw-Yawyin". Wehrli, 1904, 16, "Lihsaw = Yaoyen = Yawyin". Enriquez, 1923, 17, "Lisu, Yawyin". Lowis, 1902, 128, "The Lishaws, Lisaws or Yawyin". Scherman, 1922, 123, "Lihsaw, Yawyin".

Some authors place the tribe under the Kachin, but according to Scott it seems to be more closely related to the tribe Lahu¹ which is in agreement with Kauffman, who places the Lisu in the Lolo group within the Burmese-Tibetan language group and connects the tribe Lisu with the tribes Lolo, Lahu, Akha and Moso.²

The Chinese distinguish between three groups within the tribe, namely Pe Lisu or the white Yawyins, He Lisu or the black Yawyins, and Hwa Lisu or the "flowery" Yawyins.³ The terms refer to the colours which dominate in the costumes of the different groups. The tribe Lisu lives in the small country villages highest up in the mountains and located on either side of the river Salween.⁴

The tribe Intha likewise belongs to the Tibetan-Burmese language group. This tribe is now found in the western part of the southern Shan states to which its ancestors migrated from Tavoy during the fourteenth century. The Intha people are especially known for their unusual way of rowing, which they practice on lake Inle and the Tabet river. The men row standing up and the oars are manipulated with the help of one leg instead of with the arms.⁵

The last tribe which the Malaise couple visited belongs to the Tibetan-Burmese language group and is called Taungyo. This tribe inhabits the western part of the southern Shan states and has originally come to the mountain country of Myelat from the valley of the river Irrawaddy and has merged with the Shan and the Taungthu.⁶

The Riang or the Yang tribes Yang Hsek and Yang Lam belong to the Mon-khmer language group. Kauffman places the Riang tribes linguistically with the Mon-khmer group's Burman subdivision together with the tribes Palaung, Wa, Lemet and Lawa.⁷ The Yang Lam is the most extensive of the Riang tribes and its people live in a belt of land along the Myelat plateau. The Yang Hsek people live in the Möng Sit state, while the third of the Riang tribes Yang Wan Kun, which, however, was not visited by the Malaise couple, live to the north of this state. All three Riang tribes are silk weavers and Scott emphasizes the fact that these

¹ Scott, 1932, 53, 56.

² Kauffmann, 1934, 19.

³ Enriquez, 1923, 140.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 123, "Wie im Westen die Naga ins birmanische Gebiet herüberdrängen, so überschreitet im Osten ein anderes tibeto-birmanisches Volk, die Lishaw, die Grenzen. Ihre Hauptsiedelungen liegen am Salween . . . Von Yünnan aus haben sich die Lishaw in die östlichen Distrikte von Birma verbreitet".

⁵ Scott, 1932, 53, 56.

⁶ Scherman, 1922, 83.

⁷ Kauffmann, 1934, 19.

old tribes would scarcely have been able to hold their regions against the onset of new tribes if it had not been for the cultivation of silk. The Shans, Burmese, and others, which he calls "paleo-Asian" people, will not, since they are Buddhists, commit the sin of making silk, because it is against the commandment of their religion to kill animals, in this case silk worms. However, they have nothing against buying the silk cloth made by the Riang tribes. They know it is the best quality — and not like the German, imported silk cloth dyed with aniline dyes — and therefore more durable.¹

The last five of the tribes visited are the Karen tribes represented by the Siamese-Chinese language group, to which the Shan and Tai also belong.² The Karen tribes are found between 10 and 21 degrees latitude and between 94 and 100 degrees longitude. Their regions extend in a north-south direction from Toungoo to Mergui. Contrary to their custom these inhabitants of the mountains have on certain occasions wandered down from their mountain regions and become acclimated to the lower-lying country. During the last century the Karen tribes have taken possession of the Irrawaddy's delta region and larger sections of the Burmese coast, after these sections had been deserted following the wars among the Burmese, the Mon and the Tai.³

The Karen tribes are supposed to have come to Burma later than the tribes of the Mon-khmer language group and certainly also later than the main part of the tribes belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese language group, but on the other hand earlier than the Shan people,⁴ who are related to them by language. At the time of the beginning of our chronology the Shan migrated from Yünnan with the purpose of colonizing bringing along with them their knowledge of ploughs and irrigation, and took possession of the valleys. The Karen mention a "sand river" "Hti Seh Meh Yw'a",⁵ which their ancestors were supposed to have passed in their wanderings. To interpret this sand river as the Gobi desert is, however, scarcely justified.⁶ Everything would indicate that the Karen tribes have come to S. E. Asia from southern or southwestern China.⁷ According to Scherman the tribes have been given the name Karen by the Burmese.⁸ The Karen tribes are divided into three groups. The first is Bwe, Bué

¹ Scott, 1932, 266 ff.

² Kauffmann, 1934, 19.

³ Heine-Geldern, 1923, 746.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 79 ff. Deetjen, 1874, 139.

⁵ Marshall, 1922, 5.

⁶ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 80.

⁷ Cf. Enriquez, 1923, 10. Scott, 1932, 64. Marshall, 1922, 14.

⁸ Scherman, 1922, 80.

or Bghai group which is the most northern and is found between the upper Sittang and the Salween. Of this group the Malaise couple visited the tribes Karen-ni, also called the red Karen, the Zayein, also called the Sawntüing-Karen¹ and the Padaung. Farther to the south than the Bwe group one finds the Sgaw group, also called the white Karen. This tribe was also visited by the Malaise couple. Finally we have the third group, which also lives to the south, namely the Pwo group, of which only one tribe was visited, that is the Taungthu, the origin of which is a little uncertain but which is generally believed to belong to the Karen tribes' Pwo group.² The Taungthu are found in the Shan states as far north as beyond Taungoo.³ The main part of the tribe supposedly migrated here from the southern, from Thatun, the oldest capital in the Mon country, where a part of the tribe still lives.

The most striking of the five tribes visited is the Padaung. It is the only one of the mountain tribes which understands irrigation and this tribe are excellent farmers with terrace-formed lands on the great mountain ridge Tenasserim, which separates Burma from Siam. It is especially the women's neck and leg ornaments which have attracted the attention of the different researchers. While most of the women of the mountain tribes wear ornaments of metal rings over, under, and around the knees, so that they can hardly walk and can only with difficulty bend their legs, the Padaung women have in addition similar metal rings around the neck. That is, they are not actually metal rings, but around the neck from the shoulder and up under the chin a brass band of the thickness of one's little finger is wound. The number of times one winds the band around the neck vary from five to ten according to the girl's, and later the young woman's age. The purpose is to stretch the neck as much as possible so that the head will seem unnaturally small. The whole binding can reach a height of 20 centimeters and the appearance of the whole figure is something like a champagne bottle.⁴

The tribes are reviewed here according to their location from north to south. Classified according to language the tribes visited fall into three groups: The Tibetan-Burmese, the Mon-khmer and the Siamese-Chinese language groups. Of these the Mon-khmer language group is the oldest

¹ Scherman, 1922, 93. Lowis, 1902, 121.

² Scherman, 1922, 81. Marshall, 1922, 3. Scott, 1932, 30.

³ Marshall, 1922, 3. The Taungthu live, according to Scherman, 1922, 81, in a concentrated group in southern Burma mainly in the Thaton district and in the southwestern part of the southern Shan states. The Taungthu are found moreover in Siam and Cambodia.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 92. Scott, 1932, 98.

and is represented in this study by the Riang tribes Yang Hsek and Yang Lam. The second wave of immigration brought people of the Tibetan-Burmese language group, represented in this investigation by the tribes Kachin, Maru, Lisu, Intha and Taungyo. With the third wave finally the people of the Siamese-Chinese language group arrived, for which the Karen tribes Sgaw-Karen, Taungthu, Karen-ni, Zayein and Padaung are the representatives in this study.¹

¹ Cf. Enriquez, 1923, 7 ff. Heine-Geldern, 1923, 736 ff.

THE GARMENTS

In the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum the Malaise collection has catalogue number 35.39 followed by the number for each garment. In this study there are also included the other items which the Museum possesses from the tribes visited by the Malaise couple. These costumes which were brought back by other travellers some years earlier have been given catalogue numbers 33.39 and 35.37, which are likewise followed by the number for each garment.

As in the case with my study and publication in 1950 of the collection of Mongolian costumes, which were brought back to the National Museum in Copenhagen by Henning Haslund-Christensen,¹ the garments from S. E. Asia which will be taken up here will be first collected in groups according to their type. The description and investigation will be made with special regard to the construction and the cut of the garments. According to my opinion the investigation and definition of the cut of a garment is of the greatest importance as it is mainly on this basis that one can determine the relationship of the costumes with, and their origin from other dress forms. Thereafter the garments will be treated as far as it is possible as parts of the complete costumes, for the different types of which an account will be given.

There are 67 garments from S. E. Asia in a collection which will be studied here. These are divided up into the following groups:

- A. Sleeveless blouses (10 specimens)
- B. Sleeveless gowns (2 specimens)

These two groups consist of garments which are closed and are put on by pulling over the head. Thereafter come three groups consisting of costumes open in the front:

- C. Jackets (6 specimens)
- D. Caftans (2 specimens)
- E. Waistcoats (2 specimens)

¹ Mongol Costumes, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ny Raekke III, Copenhagen, 1950.

These are followed by three groups of garments for the lower part of the body:

- F. Skirts (17 specimens)
- G. Trousers (7 specimens)
- H. Aprons (1 specimen)

The following two groups consist of garments especially for arms and legs:

- I. Sleeves for the forearm (4 pairs)
- J. Leggings (7 pairs)

The two last groups consist of accessories to the costume:

- K. Breast-covers (2 specimens)
- L. Pieces of cloth which can be wound round the head as a turban or round the waist as a sash or belt (7 specimens).

DESCRIPTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CUT

A. *Sleeveless blouses*

All 10 specimens are women's blouses. They are short, sack-shaped garments, alike in front and back, with a vertical slit for neck opening and an opening on each side for the arms. They are all of the same cut. They are made of a rectangular piece of cloth, made up lengthwise of two widths of the material. In the middle of the seam which joins the two widths, an opening about 0.35 m. long has been left for the head. The piece of cloth is then folded across and sewn together with vertical side seams along the very edge of the cloth, leaving an opening at the top on each side for the arms.¹ A kind of shoulder cover consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth with a hole in the centre for the head, and worn so that it covers the chest and back, is known from ancient Peru, and the Peruvian term "poncho" is, as a rule, used wherever one finds such a shawl with neck opening. If this loosely hanging poncho is sewn together at the sides from the lower edge of the cloth up to the arm-pit, then the poncho-blouse has been created.² The ten women's blouses from S. E. Asia are such

¹ Cf. Marshall 1945, 17, "The general dress of the Karen was an uncut garment made by sewing together two breadths of cloth as they came from the rude loom, leaving a hole in the middle . . . for the head and two small holes at the upper corners for the arms . . ."

² Cf. Hansen, 1950, 102.

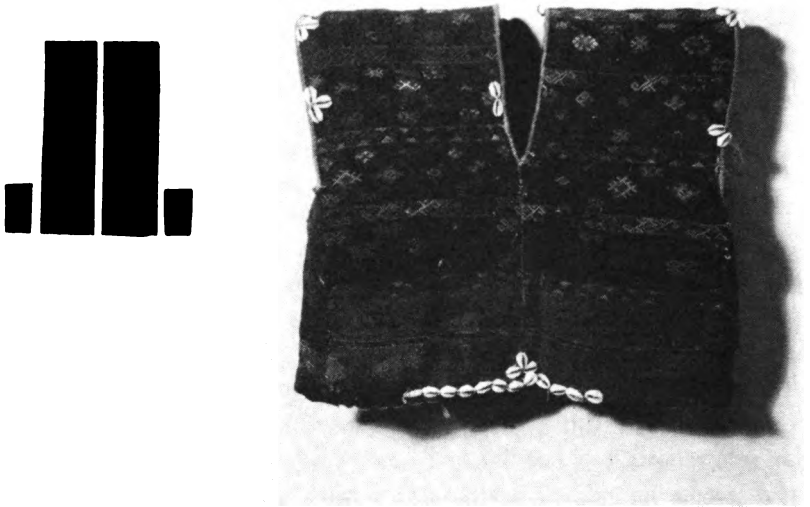


Fig. 1. Woman's sleeveless blouse and its pattern. Kachin. 35.39.273.

poncho-blouses. In Scott's words, "Nearly all these tribes make their jumpers (smocks) poncho fashion without allowing for the slope of the shoulders".¹

35.39.273. Woman's blouse from Kachin. Fig. 1 and 17.² The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in geometrical patterns in shades of brown, grouped in stripes. As the pattern shows, in each side seam there is inserted a narrow piece of cloth which gives extra width. The width of the cloth is 0.30 m. The length of the blouse is 0.50 m. while the width over the shoulders is 0.60 m.

35.39.398. Woman's blouse from Taungyo. Fig. 23. The material is cotton cloth with horizontal stripes in the colours brown and reddish-brown. As decoration, pearl buttons have been sewn on in a row along the neck opening and at the arm holes. The width of the cloth is 0.35 m. The length of the blouse is 0.86 m., the width is 0.70 m.

35.39.403. Woman's blouse from Taungthu. Fig. 22. The material is black³ cotton sateen. This blouse is machine-made in contrast to the

¹ Scott, 1932, 100.

² Scott, 1932, fig. p. 178.

³ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 83.



Fig. 2. Woman's sleeveless blouse and its pattern. Yang Lam. 35.39.529.

others which are made by hand. The width of the material is 0.38 m. The length of the blouse is 0.75 m., the width is 0.76 m.

35.39.482. Woman's blouse from Intha. The material is plain black hempen cloth, the width of which is 0.37 m. The length of the blouse is 0.78 m., the width is 0.74 m.

35.39.529. Woman's blouse from Yang Lam. Fig. 2 and 21. The material is plain black cotton cloth. At the bottom of the blouse there has been added a border 0.08 m. wide, in bright red cotton cloth. The neck opening is finished at the front with a decoration of tassels, ribbons and fringe in the colours green and bright red.¹ A similar decoration is sewn

¹ Cf. Scott, 1932, 264, "a red insertion at the bosom".

on across each side seam, attached so that when the blouse is put on it will be at the hips. The width of the cloth is 0.27 m. The length of the blouse is 0.48 m., the width is 0.54 m.

35.39.624. Woman's blouse from Padaung. Fig. 27. The material is undyed cotton cloth with a narrow woven-in reddish brown line along the edges of the cloth. The width of the cloth is 0.26 m. The length of the blouse is 0.70 m., the width is 0.52 m.

35.39.658. Woman's blouse from Skaw Karen. The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in geometrical patterns in the colours bright red, green and yellow. The width of the cloth is 0.35 m. The length of the blouse is 0.90 m., the width is 0.70 m.

35.39.659. Woman's blouse from Skaw Karen. Fig. 24. The material is undyed cotton cloth. Along all the seams and edges of the garment there is sewn as a decoration a thin cord, twisted of bright red cotton yarn. It is said that blouses of this kind are worn by unmarried women and children. The width of the cloth is 0.28 m. The length of the blouse is 0.87 m., the width 0.56 m.

35.39.714. Woman's blouse from Skaw Karen, "hsay"¹ or "hse".² Fig. 25. The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in geometrical patterns in woolen yarn in the colours bright red, green and pink. The width of the cloth is 0.35 m. The length of the blouse is 0.58 m., the width 0.70 m.

35.39.740. Woman's blouse from Zayein. The material is coarse undyed³ cotton cloth without decoration of any kind. The width of the cloth is 0.35 m. The length of the blouse is 0.62 m., the width 0.70 m.

B. *Sleeveless gowns*

While the sleeveless blouses in the above group were garments exclusively for women, the sleeveless gowns which compose this group are worn by both men and women. The gowns are quite similar to the blouses in form and cut. The gowns are also sack-shaped and are alike in front and back. They are composed of a poncho made of two widths sewn together. An opening, 0.35 m. long, in the middle of the seam which joins the two widths, forms the neck opening. The poncho is, like the blouses, sewn together at both sides with the upper part of the seam left open for the arms.⁴

¹ Marshall, 1945, 17.

² Marshall, 1922, 35.

³ Scherman, 1922, 94, states definitely that white is the main colour used by this tribe.

⁴ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 102.

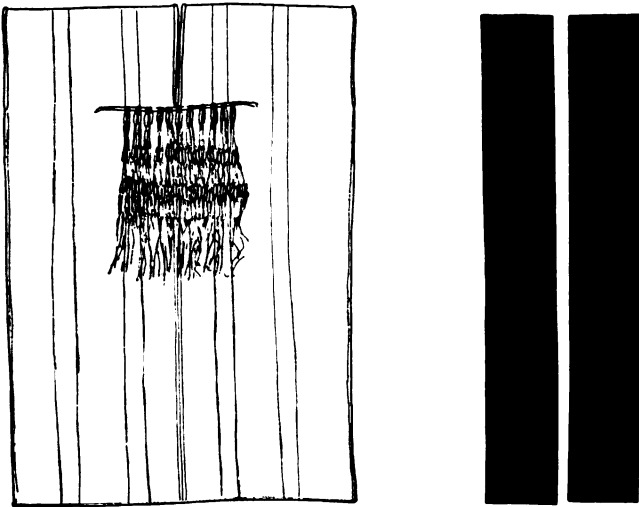


Fig. 3. Woman's sleeveless gown and its pattern. Yang Hsek. 35.39.492.

35.39.492. Woman's gown from Yang Hsek. Fig. 3 and 20. The material is cotton cloth woven in red and white vertical stripes, with the red stripes twice as wide as the white ones. The garment is decorated with tassels made of lace and cords in the colours green and purple. This garment is described by Woodthorpe in these words: "curious long coats like sacks with holes for head and arms with very short sleeves with alternate white and red longitudinal stripes."¹ As is clear from this enquiry sleeves are not involved in these gowns. Since the width of the sack-shaped garment is, however, the same at the top and bottom, it is so wide across the shoulders that it covers a part of the upper arm and thus gives the impression of having short sleeves. The width of the cloth is 0.30 m. The length of the gown is 0.94 m. and its width 0.60 m.

35.39.657. Man's gown from Skaw Karen. The material is undyed cotton cloth with wide vertical stripes in bright red. This kind of gowns referred to by Marshall as "Karen male costume,"² and the same author states

¹ Woodthorpe, 1897, 27. Cf. Scott, 1932, 265.

² Marshall, 1945, fig. p. 28. Schermann, 1922, 81, "Das ursprüngliche Karen-Kleid, das jetzt immer seltener wird, ein langer Kittel (birman. thindaing) mit zwei seitlichen Öffnungen für die Arme und einem Schlitz für den Kopf, bildet das einzige Obergewand für Männer, Knaben und Mädchen." — Marshall, 1945, 17, "The garment reached from the shoulders to the calves and was the only bit of clothing worn . . ."

that among the Skaw Karen and the Pwo group among the Karen, which includes the tribe Taungthu, it is the men's only garment.¹ As to the striped cloth, Marshall provides the information that in the Moulmein and Papon district as well as farther to the east this garment is made with wide stripes in red and white the entire length of the garment.² The width of the cloth is 0.66 m. The length of the gown is 1.02 m. and its width 0.66 m.

C. *Jackets*

The sleeveless blouses and gowns are closed garments which are put on by being pulled them over the head (slipover garments). The jackets, of which there are six specimens in this collection, on the contrary are garments which are open at the front. The jackets are worn by both men and women. There are two kinds: a. Sleeveless jackets, and b. Jackets with sleeves.

a. Sleeveless jackets. As represented in this collection they are poncho blouses, the neck opening at the front of which continues down to the garment's lower edge so that there is a vertical opening in the front. The only seams are the side seams.³

33.39.281. Man's jacket from Kachin. According to information provided by the couple Malaise the same type of jacket is used among the Maru. The material is unbleached cotton cloth without decoration of any kind. By means of two cords the jacket can be closed in the front. The jacket is made of two lengths, the width of which is 0.26 m. The length of the jacket is 0.47 m. and its width 0.52 m.

b. Jackets with sleeves. These jackets present us with a considerably more varied picture than the sleeveless jackets could possibly do. According to their cut they may be arranged in two groups: 1. Jackets, the sleeves of which are a part of the same piece of cloth as the body of the jacket,⁴ and 2. Jackets, the sleeves of which are cut out separately and then sewn in to the jacket proper.

1. Jackets, the sleeves of which are cut as part of the same piece of cloth as the body of the garment. In this case the piece of cloth for the body of the jacket must be so wide that it reaches down over the upper

¹ Marshall, 1922, 35.

² Marshall, 1922, 35.

³ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 102 ff.

⁴ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 111, and fig. 72—75.

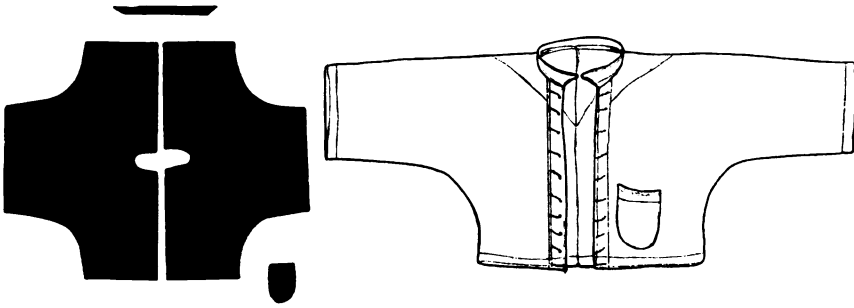


Fig. 4. Man's jacket and its pattern. Yang Hsek. 35.39.494.

arm to the elbow. The superfluous cloth under the arms is cut off, and the side seams continue along the underside of the arms as sleeve seams. The result is short sleeves, to which a bit of cloth can be added to make long sleeves.¹ In very few cases is the cloth for the body of the garment sufficiently wide so that such an addition is not necessary and long sleeves can be made as a part of the body of the garment. The cutting of sleeves as part of the garment proper is a point of style dominating in the jackets in both China and Mongolia.² One of the jackets studied here has a feature which is likewise well known from Chinese and Mongolian jackets and from the Chinese and Mongolian long, coat-like caftans. It is an extra piece of cloth attached along the left side of the opening at the front (the wearer's left). Thus the garment becomes double on the right side of the front and has the closing to the right which is so characteristic for the Mongolian and Chinese garments.

35.39.494. Man's jacket from Yang Hsek. Fig. 4. The material is undyed cotton cloth. The jacket has a stand-up collar and is buttoned with nine buttons and corresponding cloth loops attached along the vertical opening. The jacket has no lining but on the inside of the shoulder sections there is sewn a triangular piece of undyed cotton. The body of the jacket is made of two lengths, the width of which is 0.57 m. The length of the jacket, exclusive of collar, is 0.42 m, the width, measured with spread-out sleeves cut as an elongation of the body without addition of cloth for lengthening, is 1.14 m.

35.39.219. Man's jacket from Lisu. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. The jacket has a stand-up cotton collar and is buttoned with Chinese

¹ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 111.

² Cf. Hansen, 1950, 65 ff. and fig. 68—71.

knot buttons and corresponding loops attached along the vertical opening at the front. The jacket has pockets and is sewn by machine. The body of the jacket is made of two lengths of cloth, the width of which is 0.55 m. The length of the jacket without collar is 0.54 m., and the width, with spread-out sleeves, is 1.36 m. It is said to be Chinese, like the trousers and waistcoat which go with it (35.39.218 and 220).

35.39.270. Woman's jacket from Maru. Fig. 18. This jacket shows the above-mentioned closing to the right which has been made by attaching an extra piece of cloth along the left side of the opening at the front. The right side closure has been made by "overlapping".¹ The material is black cotton cloth. The jacket has lengthened sleeves and in the lengthening seam there has been inserted as decoration a band of bright red cotton cloth. When the jacket is put on the red stripe falls just above the elbow. At the bottom of the jacket there is a border consisting of a piece of brocade ribbon at the front and a smaller piece at the back with a band of the bright red cotton cloth framed by green braid continuing round the jacket. Along the edge of the brocade ribbon there has been sewn a bright red silk braid. Around the neck opening and along the overlapping part there is a decoration consisting of bright red silk braid and a row of pearl buttons. The jacket proper is made of two lengths, the width of which is 0.36 m. To this has been added sleeve elongations made of cloth of the same width so that the whole width of the jacket with spread-out sleeves is 1.44 m., while the length is 0.48.

2. Jackets with inserted sleeves. In this case the body of the jacket has the same form as a sleeveless jacket of group a (cf. 33.39.281). Tube-like sleeves have been sewn in at right angles to the jacket proper. That is, the sleeves lie at right angles and not, as is the case with many of the European garments, at an acute angle to the jacket. The sleeves are also cut straight both at top and bottom. They do not have at the top the curved, concave-convex shape, which is meant to fit into a rounded armhole, resulting in an acute angle in relation to the body of the jacket, a characteristic of European garments with sleeves.² This construction is originally more or less unknown in Asiatic costumes.

35.37.738. Man's jacket from Zayein. Fig. 5. As the diagram shows the body of the jacket consists of only one width of cloth. In the side seams gores are inserted and along both sides of the jacket's

¹ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 13, and fig. 10.

² Cf. Hansen, 1950, 111 ff.

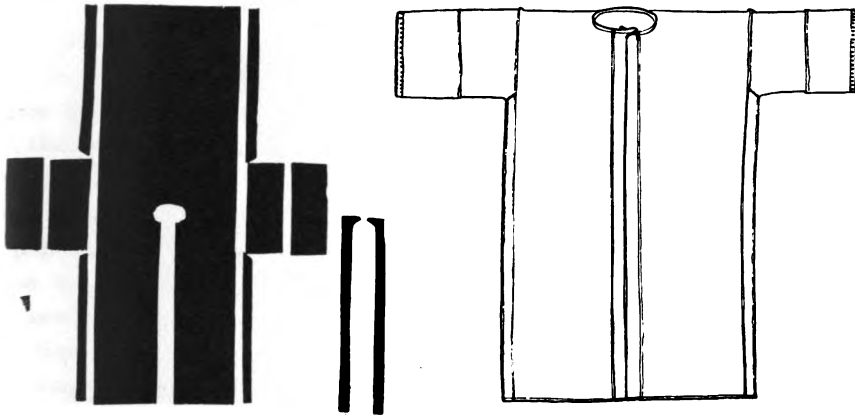


Fig. 5. Man's jacket and its pattern. Zayein. 35.37.738.

vertical opening at the front two narrow bands of cloth have been sewn. The sleeves are relatively short, reaching to the middle of the forearm. The material is undyed¹ cotton cloth. The length of the jacket is 0.78 m., and its width with spread-out sleeves, 1.10 m.

35.39.266. Woman's jacket from Kachin. Fig. 6 and 17. As the diagram shows the body of the jacket consists of only one width of cloth. The material is black velvet. Where the sleeves and body of the jacket meet, there is a wide band of bright red cotton cloth. Along both sides of the vertical opening at the front is an elaborate decoration of round, convex discs.² The length of the jacket is 0.47 m., and its width with spread-out sleeves is 1.35 m.

D. *Caftans*

I have chosen to give these long coat-like garments the same name as I used in my study of the Mongolian costumes,³ although we are here

¹ Scherman, 1922, 94, states definitely that white is the main colour used by this tribe.

² Cf. Wehrli, 1904, 42. Gilhodes, 1910, 619, "La femme porte une veste (palawng) de même couleur et de même forme que celle de l'homme, mais qui diffère par plusieurs ornements. Au bord supérieur du devant est cousue une bandelette rouge, sur laquelle est fixée une ligne serrée de boutons d'argent (dugawp) qui se prolonge autour du col; celui-ci est souvent orné d'une seconde rangée de boutons de même métal mais plus gros . . . Sur les deux manches en forme de brassard, est ajoutée une bande d'étoffe rouge . . . où sont fixés cinq boutons toujours d'argent en forme de croix. Enfin le bas de paletot est paré d'une bande d'étoffe rouge de la largeur de la main avec un liseré blanc au bord supérieur, un autre liseré rouge passe au milieu du dos et est croisillé avec des petites pièces du même tissu." Cf. Scherman, 1922, 103.

³ Hansen, 1950, 12 ff.

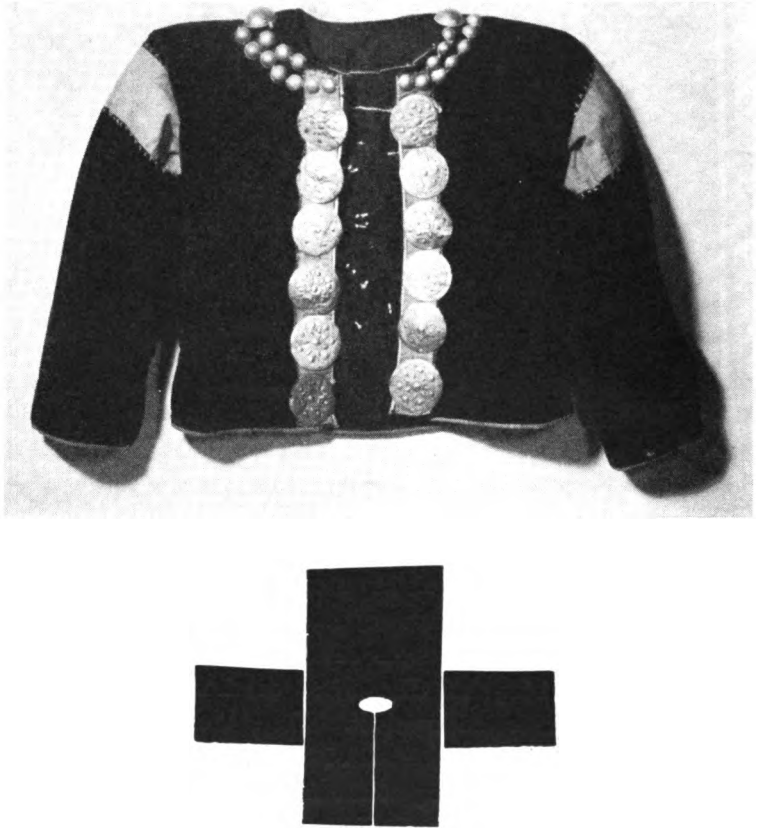


Fig. 6. Woman's jacket and its pattern. Kachin. 35.39.266.

dealing with garments from Highland Burma. The term is originally Arabian, "kuftan", and is the name for the most characteristic garment of western and central Asia, the long wide coat with sleeves. In Tibet it is called "shuba". The Malaise couple brought back two specimens of these caftans, one of them is an outer garment for a woman and the other an under garment for a man. The form and cut are identical. The two caftans differ only in regard to material and decoration. Both specimens have long sleeves cut out separately and sewn to the body of the garment at right angles. The body is in both cases a poncho made of one width of cloth,²⁵ in the middle of which a circular neck opening has been

¹ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 112.

cut. The poncho has then been cut in two at the front so that it becomes an open garment. The cutting, however, does not follow a vertical line which would divide the poncho in two equal parts at the front, as was the case with the above-mentioned jackets. The cutting of the poncho, which is the basis for the caftans from Highland Burma dealt with here, follows a slanting line starting from the neck opening at the front and crossing the poncho's right side. This type of cutting thus results in a slanting opening on the right side of the garment a little below the shoulders of the wearer. At the upper edge of this opening an extra width of cloth is sewn which hangs down on the inside as an extra but invisible front section on the right side. When the poncho is then sewn together, thus becoming a caftan, and is put on, it is closed from left to right as with the jacket 33.39.270 (in group C. b. 1). The important difference is, however, that in the case of the jacket the right-hand closure is a question of *overlapping*, that is, the extra width of cloth necessarily appears on the outside and covers the original right side of the jacket, while in the case of the right-hand closure in the caftans from Highland Burma dealt with here, it is a question of *underlapping*, that is, the extra width of cloth is on the inside.¹

One finds among the Tibetan costumes about the same construction for caftans with closure at the right with underlapping. As examples can be given a caftan with long sleeves, C. 2088, and a over-caftan without sleeves, C. 2102, which have been brought back from Tibet to the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Both are examples of the same cut and construction. The two caftans from Highland Burma, which are dealt with here, have slashes in the sides made by placing at each side of the caftan two extra pieces of cloth, one sewn on to the front and one to the back of the caftan. These pieces are not sewn together lengthwise but are overlapped at the top and held together by a cross seam.

35.39.86. Woman's caftan from Lisu. Fig. 7, 8, 19, 26, pl. 1 b. The material is dark blue cotton cloth decorated with appliqué narrow and wider bands and squares in bright red flannel and brown, yellow, and white cotton cloth. The caftan is unlined. It has a low stand-up collar and round this there is sewn a shoulder-poncho which covers the back and chest. It is open at the front and resembles a sailor collar at the back. It is decorated with rectangular appliques in brown, yellow, and white cotton cloth. The width of the dark blue cotton cloth of which the caftan

¹ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 13, and fig. 11, 102, 109, 185.

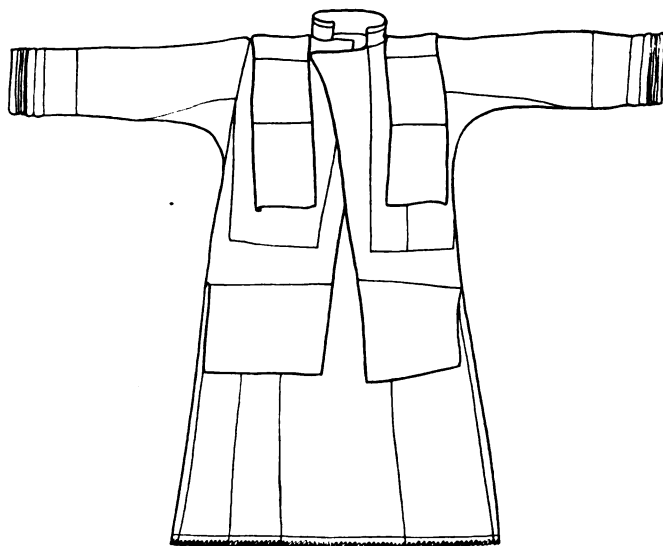


Fig. 7. Woman's caftan. Lisu. 35. 39. 86.

is made is 0.36 m. The garment's length at the back, measured from the shoulders, is 1.15 m., while the front measures only 0.70 m. as it is supposed to be covered by the accessory apron.¹ The width with spread-out sleeves is 1.40 m.

35.39.96. Under-caftan for a man, from the tribe Lisu. Fig. 9. The material is undyed cotton cloth. It has a stand-up collar of dark blue cotton cloth. As a decoration the main seams are sewn with blue yarn. The caftan is unlined. This caftan also has, around the lower edge of the stand-up collar, a shoulder-poncho which is open at the front and resembles a sailor collar which hangs down over the back. The length of the caftan without collar is 0.97 m. and the width with spread-out sleeves is 1.30 m.

E. Waistcoats

Of these, two specimens have been brought back. Both are garments for men. They have not, as is the case with our European dress, been worn underneath covered by other garments, but they have been worn outside, as is usual in the Asiatic dress culture. The cut differs markedly from that in the above-mentioned garment, where the same lengths of

¹ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 126, "das über Hosen getragene Oberkleid reichte rückwärts bis über die Waden, vorn war es kürzer und einer Doppelschürze gedeckt". Enriquez, 1923, 136.

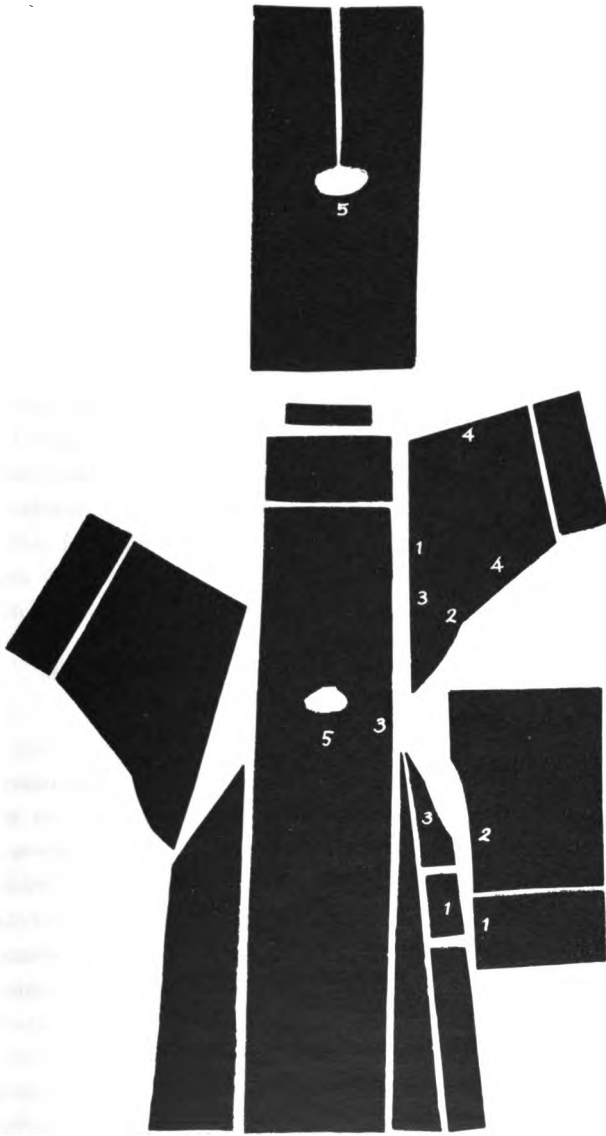


Fig. 8. Pattern for woman's caftan. Lisu. 35.39.86.

cloth which compose the back continued over the shoulders to form the front as well. The waistcoats, on the contrary, are made of one piece of cloth for the back and two pieces for the front. The back and front pieces

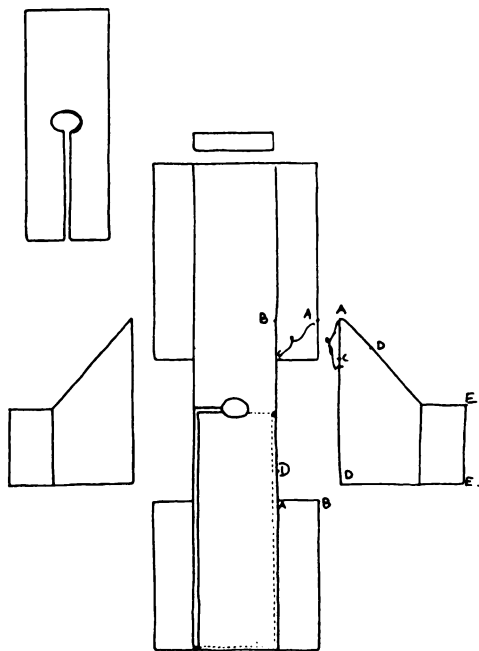


Fig. 9. Pattern for man's caftan. Lisu. 35.39.96.

are sewn together with a slanting shoulder seam.¹ The basis for such a garment (which has, as "constructive seams", shoulder- as well as side-seams), is not the usual poncho but instead a poncho sewn together of one front and one back piece, a "shoulder-seam poncho",² which is called a "two-skin poncho"³ by Gudmund Hatt who has examined Arctic costumes. As in the case of the ordinary poncho such a shoulder-seam poncho or two-skins poncho can be sewn together at the sides, becoming a blouse-like or gown-like garment which then can be cut in two at the front so that it becomes an open garment, a caftan or sleeveless jacket or a waistcoat.⁴ The two waistcoats which are studied here are such short sleeveless garments patterned on the shoulder-seam poncho. Actually, however, they are not garments from Highland Burma. Their form and cut show such strong resemblance to the waistcoats which belong to the Chinese

² Cf. Hansen, 1950, 70 ff. and fig. 79.

³ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 104 ff.

⁴ Hatt, 1914, 56 ff.

⁵ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 102.

costumes that they can without any doubt be regarded as having been brought in from China to the primitive mountain tribes of Burma.

35.39.97. Man's waistcoat from Lisu. The side seams are narrowed towards the bottom in order to make the waistcoat fit well. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. It is lined with undyed cotton cloth. On the outside there are two pockets and inside there is one. The waistcoat is buttoned in the middle at the bottom of the front with four knot buttons and corresponding loops made of blue cotton cloth. The length of the waistcoat is 0.52 m., and its width across the shoulders is 0.27 m.

35.39.220. Man's waistcoat from Lisu. About this waistcoat we have the definite information that it has been brought in from the Chinese province of Yünnan. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. The waistcoat is lined with light blue cotton cloth. On the outside there are two pockets. The side seams are vertical so that this waistcoat hangs looser than the waistcoat mentioned above. It is buttoned in the middle at the bottom of the front with three knot buttons and corresponding loops made of dark blue cotton cloth. The length of the waistcoat is 0.53 m. and the width across the shoulders is 0.32 m.

F. *Skirts*

Of these there are seventeen specimens, which can be divided into two groups: a. open, draped skirts, and b. closed, cylinder-shaped skirts. All the skirts are sewn together of several lengths of cloth which are not, as is the case with the garments for the upper part of the body, placed lengthwise so that the sewing is vertical but crosswise so that the sewing is horizontal. A majority of the skirts are garments for women. Only two specimens have been worn by men. For five of the skirts in question there is no information regarding what tribe they come from or whether they have been worn by men or women.

a. Open, draped skirts. These skirts are made of two widths of cloth sewn together into a rectangular piece. The sewing together is done, as mentioned, horizontally and the measure of the two short sides makes the length of the skirt.

35.39.212. The material is a Scotch-type plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours yellow, violet and black. The width of the cloth is 0.45 m. There are selvages on the long sides. The short sides have narrow seams. The skirt measures 1.96 m. by 0.90 m.

35.39.213. The material is Scotch-type plaid cotton cloth woven in the same colours as the cloth above. The width of the cloth is 0.56 m. One short side is without seam while on the other there is a narrow seam. On the long sides there are selvages. The skirt's measurements are 2.10 m. by 1.12 m.

35.39.214. The material is Scotch-type plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours bright red, yellow and black. The width of the cloth is 0.57 m. Along one of the short sides there is a narrow seam, the other short side is cast with button-hole stitch. The skirt's measurements are 2.18 m. by 1.14 m.

35.39.215. Skirt used by both men¹ and women of the tribe Kachin. Erroneously called a "sarong", which is in fact not an open, but a cylinder-shaped skirt sewn together.² The material is Scotch-type plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours white, black, purple and violet. The width of the cloth is 0.48 m. Along both of the short sides there is a narrow hem. The measurements of the skirt are 2.16 m. by 0.96 m.

35.39.216. The material is Scotch-type plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours brown, violet and sand colour. The width of the cloth is 0.45 m. Along one of the selvages the skirt has been mended with a piece of undyed cotton cloth and in the middle, 0.10 m. from the same selvage, there is a patch of the same cloth as the skirt. Along one of the short sides there is a narrow hem. The other short side is cast with button-hole stitch. The measurements of the skirt are 1.96 m. by 0.90 m.

35.39.268. Woman's skirt from Kachin. Unlike the above-mentioned skirts this one is made of not two but three widths of cloth. Scherman describes it as follows: "Das Frauengewand besteht aus einem aus drei Webbahnen zusammengesetzten Stoffstück von 0.60—0.75 m. Breite und 1.60—1.70 m. Länge, das als Rock um den Leib befestigt und seitlich übereinander gesteckt wird —".³ The material is black cotton cloth with blue stripes. At the end of each width of cloth there is a woven-in design in wool yarn in reddish-brown, bright red, yellow-green and yellow.⁴ The width of the cloth is 0.28 m. The two long sides are faced with bright red cotton cloth. Along both of the short sides there is a narrow hem. The measurements of the skirt: 1.74 m. × 0.84 m.

35.39.715. Woman's skirt "ni", from Skaw Karen. Fig. 25. The material is bright red cotton cloth with vertical stripes in the colours green and

¹ Cf. Wehrli, 1904, 42.

² Cf. Scherman, 1922, 14 ff. Philips, 1951, 118.

³ Scherman, 1922, 102.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 103.

lilac. When the skirt is draped around the body, the stripes lie horizontally. According to Marshall the women in this tribe wear closed skirts,¹ in which case this open skirt can not be the most usual type. The width of the cloth is 0.35–0.40 m., and the skirt's measurements are: 1.47 m. \times 1.08 m.

b. Closed skirts. These skirts are made by sewing together with a vertical seam the two short sides of a rectangular piece of cloth so that it forms a cylinder. The skirt is drawn tightly around the body at the back and the remaining width is taken up in a deep vertical tuck at the front.

35.39.217. Man's skirt, "longyi", from Kachin. The material is plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours dark green and light green. The skirt is made of two widths of cloth which are joined horizontally as is the case with the open skirt. The width of the cloth is 0.37 m. The length of the skirt is 0.74 m. and its width is 1.94 m.

35.39.267. Woman's skirt from Kachin. Fig. 17. The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in designs in woolen thread in the colours bright red, lilac and green.² The width of the cloth is 0.25 m. The skirt measures 1.62 m. \times 0.75 m.

35.39.269. Woman's skirt from Maru. Fig. 18. The material is cotton cloth with horizontal stripes in the colours black and brown. The width of the cloth is 1.00 m. The length of the skirt is 1.00 m., the width is 1.58 m.

35.39.399. Woman's skirt from Taungyo. Fig. 23. The skirt is made of two lengths of cloth differing in kind of material and in colour. The upper length is brown cotton cloth, the lower black hemp cloth. The width of the cloth is 0.65 m. The length of the skirt is 0.65 m. The width is 1.24 m.

35.39.404. Woman's skirt, "ni",³ from Taungthu. Fig. 22. The material is black⁴ cotton sateen. The width of the cloth is 0.70 m. The length of the skirt is 0.70 m., and the width is 1.24 m.

35.39.530. Woman's skirt from Yang Lam. Fig. 21. The material is black cotton cloth. The skirt is made of two lengths of cloth sewn together horizontally. The width of the cloth is 0.45 m. The length of the skirt is 0.90 m. The width is 2.36 m.

35.39.622. The lower part of a skirt from Karen-ni. The material is bright red cotton cloth with black and brown stripes. The width of the

¹ Marshall, 1922, 41.

² Cf. Scherman, 1922, 103.

³ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 38 ff.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 83.

cloth is 0.45 m.; we may, therefore, assume that the length of the skirt was 0.90 m. The width is 2.44 m.

35.39.625. Woman's skirt, "ni"¹ from Padaung. Fig. 27. The material of the upper half of the skirt, which is made of two lengths of cloth, is undyed cotton cloth. The lower half is of black² cotton cloth. Along the edges of the latter there are stripes woven-in in reddish lilac colour so that there is a wider reddish lilac horizontal stripe a little below the middle of the skirt and a narrower stripe of the same colour below. The width of the cloth is 0.64 m. The length of the skirt is 0.64 m., and the width is 1.24 m.

35.39.710. Man's skirt from Skaw Karen.³ The material is plaid cotton cloth woven in the colours black, white and bright red. The skirt is made of two lengths of cloth, the width is 0.47 m., so that the length of the skirt is 0.94 m., and the width 1.90 m.⁴

35.39.801. Woman's skirt from Skaw Karen. Fig. 24. Made of two lengths of cloth, the width of which is 0.57 m. The upper length of cloth is striped red cotton cloth and the lower one is bright red cotton cloth. The length of the skirt is 1.14 m., and the width is 1.46 m.

G. *Trousers*

There are seven specimens of these of which six are garments for men and one pair a part of a woman's costume. They are divided into three groups according to cut: a. Legging trousers,⁵ b. Breech-cloth trousers,⁶ and c. Compound form of trousers.⁷

a. Legging trousers. The pattern for this type of trousers is a pair of leggings, that is a pair of separate cylindrical tubes of cloth so long that they cover the legs and hips and are suspended by a cord round the waist. Joined by a crotch-seam these leggings form a pair of trousers, the legs of which form an acute angle to each other.

¹ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 38.

² Cf. Scherman, 1922, 92.

³ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 35.

⁴ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 111 ff. "The width of a strip as it comes from the loom is from eighteen to twenty inches. Between three and four yards are required for a skirt. This length is cut in half. By sewing the two resulting pieces together side by side the proper dimensions for a skirt are secured . . . The ends of this larger strip, which is nearly, two yards long and about forty inches wide, are sewed together, and the skirt is finished. The cloth for a man's garment is cut and sewed in much the same way."

⁵ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 82, 106 and fig. 100.

⁶ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 106. Hatt, 1914, pl. XII, 8.

⁷ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 107. Hatt, 1914, 159.

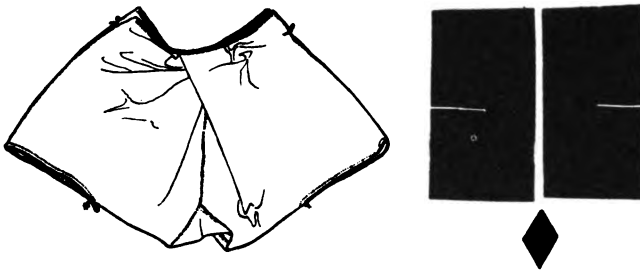


Fig. 10. Man's trousers and their pattern. Zayein. 35.37.739.

35.39.218. Man's trousers from Lisu. They are said to be of Chinese origin. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. At the top there is a 0.20 m. wide facing of undyed cotton cloth. The complete length of the trousers including facing is 0.97 m. The width at the top is 0.90 m. The width at the bottom of each trouser leg is 0.60 m.

b. Breech-cloth trousers. The pattern for this type of trousers is the breech-cloth consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth, which is drawn between the legs. It is made into trousers by being sewn together with two vertical seams along the outside of the wearer's hips and thighs.¹ The two trouser legs do not, as was the case with the legging trousers, form an acute angle with each other. When the trousers are spread out one sees that the trouser legs form a 180° angle, and when the trousers are put on there is a sack of cloth between the legs.

35.37.739. Man's trousers from Zayein.² Fig. 10. An examination of the cut shows that the breech-cloth, of which the trousers are made, is made of two lengths of cloth and in the middle of the seam which joins them there is inserted a piece of cloth of rhomboidal shape. On each side of the breech-cloth there is a 0.20 m. long slash. When the breech-cloth is sewn together to form trousers this little piece of cloth is inserted in the crotch while the two slashes become the openings for the legs to go through. The material is undyed³ cotton cloth with brown stitching along the seams. The length of the trousers is only⁴ 0.38 m. The width at the top is 0.76 m. In order that the trousers should fit tightly at the waist the width is taken

¹ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 106.

² Cf. Marshall, 1922, 35.

³ Scherman, 1922, 94, states that white is the main colour in the costumes of this tribe.

⁴ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 94.

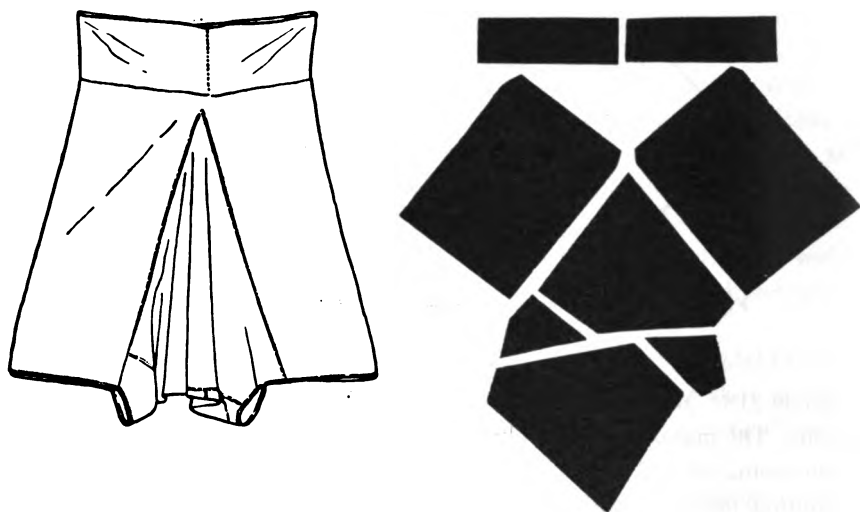


Fig. 11. Man's trousers and their pattern. Yang Lam. 35.39.495.

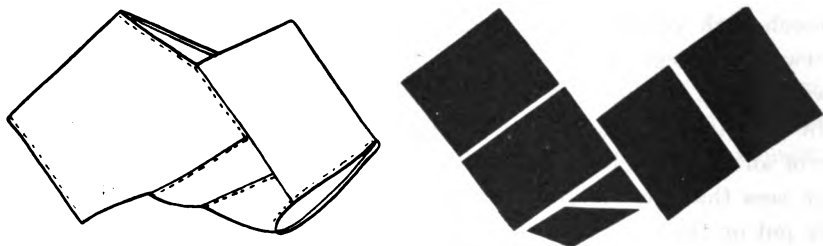


Fig. 12. Woman's trousers and their pattern. Lisu. 35.39.92.

in at the top by making a deep tuck at the front and a deep tuck in the middle of the back.

c. Compound form of trousers. This type is made by inserting a breech-cloth between two leggings.

33.39.623. Man's trousers from Karen-ni.¹ The breech-cloth section is comparatively small, square in shape, and inserted diagonally between the two leggings. The trousers have a draw-string at the top. The material is coarse, bright red cotton cloth. The length is 0.59 m. The width at the top is 1.16 m. The width at the bottom of each trouser leg is 0.58 m.

¹ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 35.

35.39.495. Man's trousers from Yang Lam. Fig. 11. They are said to represent an old Chinese form which is no longer in use. As the pattern shows, the breech-cloth section is made of four pieces of cloth sewn together. It is square in shape and is inserted diagonally between the legging sections. At the top the trousers have a wide band. The material of the trousers proper is dark blue cotton cloth, while the band is made from undyed cotton cloth. The entire length of the trousers is 0.90 m. The width at the top is 1.16 m. The width at the bottom of each trouser leg is 0.90 m.

35.39.92. Woman's trousers from Lisu.¹ Fig. 12 and 19. As the pattern shows, the breech-cloth section is pieced diagonally with two triangular pieces of cloth and sewn on diagonally between the two legging parts.² The material is dark blue cotton cloth. The length of the trousers is 0.48 m. The width at the top is 0.96 m. The width at the bottom of each trouser leg is 0.72 m.

35.39.102. Man's trousers, "mitzi", from Lisu. The breech-cloth section is square in shape and is attached diagonally between the two legging parts, each of which is made of three lengths of cloth sewn together. At the top the trousers have a 0.05 m. wide band. The material of the trousers is dark blue cotton cloth, and of the band, undyed cotton cloth. The complete length of the trousers is 0.65 m. The width at the top is 0.94 m. The width at the bottom of each leg is 0.90 m.

35.39.628. Man's trousers from Padaung. The breech-cloth section is comparatively small, square in shape, and inserted diagonally between the two legging parts. The trousers have a draw-string at the top. The material is yellow-brown cotton cloth. The length of the trousers is 0.40 m. The width at the top is 1.14 m. The width at the bottom of each leg is 0.50 m.

H. Aprons

There is only one specimen of these. It is a part of a woman's costume from the tribe Lisu and has been worn over a caftan, which was shorter in front than in back. (Cf. p. 28).

35.39.87. Woman's apron from Lisu.³ Pl. 1 c and fig. 19. This apron actually consists of two, of which the smaller is placed over the larger. They are sewn together to a belt or facing which is tied round the waist. The material in both aprons is dark blue cotton cloth decorated with

¹ Enriquez, 1923, 136, uses the term "shorts".

² Cf. Tilke, 1945, pl. 89, 6—7, "Schnitt der weiten Frauenhose bei den Lolo". Text p. 40.

³ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 126.

appliqués of cotton cloth in the colours yellow, bright red, brown and white. The over-apron is finished with fringe and measures, with fringe included, 0.43 m. in length and 0.35 m. in width. The under-apron is made of two pieces of cloth sewn together lengthwise and its length is 0.53 m. and its width 0.70 m. The belt is made of strips of cotton cloth sewn together in the same colours as are found in the appliqués.¹ It measures 1.00 m. \times 0.90 m.

I. *Sleeves for the forearm*

There are four pairs of forearm sleeves. They belong to the woman's costume, are tube-shaped and cover the arm from the wrist to a little above the elbow. Each one is made from a square piece of cloth which is sewn together in a lengthwise seam. At the top and bottom there are narrow hems.

35.39.401. Forearm sleeves from Taungyo.² Fig. 23. The material is black velvet with a wide lengthwise stripe of dark green velvet inserted in each sleeve. At the top and bottom there is a loose cord of green cotton thread which is wound outside the sleeve to keep it in place. The length is 0.39 m., the width 0.32 m.

35.39.406. Forearm sleeves from Taungthu. The material is black cotton sateen. The tying cords are of cotton thread. The seams are sewn by machine. These sleeves are said to be for everyday use. The length is 0.41 m. and the width 0.30 m.

35.39.407. Forearm sleeves from Taungthu.³ Fig. 22. The material is black velvet with a bright red velvet stripe inserted lengthwise in each sleeve. They are lined with pink flowered cotton cloth. These sleeves are said to be for use at feasts. The length is 0.41 m. and the width 0.30 m.

35.39.491. Forearm sleeves from Yang Hsek. The material is dark blue cotton cloth with a wide lengthwise stripe of white cotton cloth inserted in each sleeve. The length is 0.38 m. and the width is 0.32 m.

J. *Leggings*

In contrast to the long Chinese and Mongolian leggings,⁴ which cover the leg from ankle to hip and which are worn suspended by straps from

¹ Cf. Enriquez, 1923, 136.

² Cf. Scherman, 1922, 84, "Armstulpen aus Baumwollstoff oder Plüsch ersetzen — wie bei den meisten Kitteltrachten der Bergvölker — ausserhalb der Arbeitszeit die fehlenden Ärmel."

³ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 83.

⁴ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 81 and fig. 94.

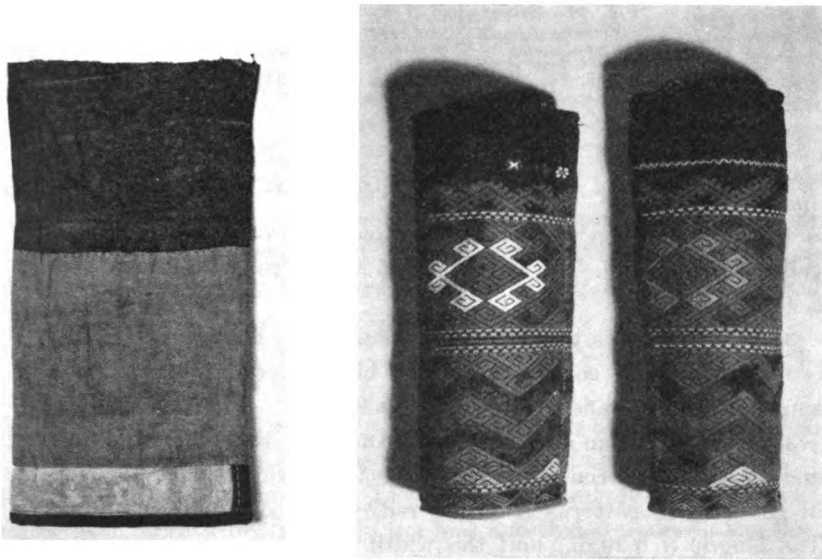


Fig. 13. *a*, woman's leggings, Lisu. 35.39.90. *b*, woman's leggings, Kachin. 35.39.265.

the belt, these seven pairs of leggings from the mountain tribes of Highland Burma are quite small, short garments. They are intended to cover the leg from ankle to knee only. They belong both to the men's and women's costumes and may be divided into two groups according to type: *a*. Open, draped leggings consisting of an oblong piece of cloth with or without lining, which is wound round the leg, and *b*. tube-like leggings sewn together in the same manner as the separate forearm sleeves.

a. Open, draped leggings.

35.39.400. Woman's leggings from Taungyo.¹ Fig. 23. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. Each legging measures 0.38 m. \times 0.64 m.

35.39.405. Woman's leggings from Taungthu. Fig. 22. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. In the upper left corner of each legging there is sewn a cord for tying the leggings on. Each legging measures 0.30 m. \times 0.45 m.

b. Tube-like leggings.

35.39.90. Woman's leggings from Lisu.² Fig. 13 *a* and 19. The material

¹ Scherman, 1922, 84.

² Enriquez, 1923, 136. Scherman, 1922, 124.

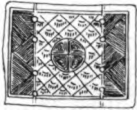


Fig. 14

Fig. 14. Silver disc from Lisu breast-cover
35.39.94; pl. 1 a.

Fig. 15. Woman's sash. Lisu. 35.39.88.

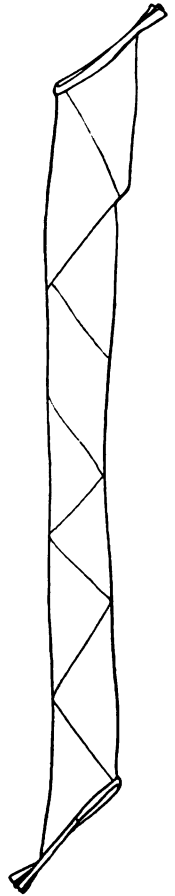


Fig. 15

is dark blue cotton cloth with appliqués of brown and yellow cotton cloth. The length is 0.35 m. and the width is 0.36 m.

35.39.100. Man's leggings from Lisu.¹ The material is coarse, undyed cotton cloth with blue stripes. The length is 0.17 m. and the width is 0.36 m.

35.39.265. Woman's leggings from Kachin.² Fig. 13 b and 17. The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in geometrical patterns in bright red, yellow and lilac. The length is 0.30 m., and the width is 0.15 m.

35.39.271. Leggings from Maru. No information as to whether they were for a man or woman. The material is undyed cotton cloth with a facing of blue cotton cloth at the bottom. The two leggings are not of the same size. The one is 0.17 m. long and has a width of 0.60 m. The other is 0.15 m. long with a width of 0.52 m.

35.39.789. Man's leggings from Lisu. The material is coarse, undyed cotton cloth with narrow blue stripes. The length is 0.26 m. and the width is 0.28 m.

K. *Breast-covers*³

These consist of long, narrow bands of cloth which hang down from a collar fastened round the neck and closing at the back. The breast-cover is a part of the women's costume and is worn under a caftan. There are two specimens.

35.39.93. Breast-cover from Lisu. The material is dark blue cotton cloth with appliqués of bright red flannel on the collar. Small silver discs have been sewn on the breast-cover as decoration. The breast-cover proper measures 0.50 m × 0.08 m., while the collar measures 0.35 m. × 0.05 m.

¹ Enriquez, 1923, 136.

² Scherman, 1922, 102. Wehrli, 1904, 42. Scott, 1932, 270. Gilhodes, 1910, 620.

³ Cf. Hansen, 1950, 89, 114 ff.



Fig. 16. Woman's head band. Lisu. 35.39.95.

35.39.94. Breast-cover from Lisu. Fig. 14, 19, pl. 1 a. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. On the collar there are appliqués in bright red flannel, while on the breast-cover proper there have been sewn silver buckles as a decoration. The breast-cover measures 0.50 m. \times 0.15 m., while the collar measures 0.05 m. \times 0.40 m.

L. Sashes, head cloths, and belts

This group consists of seven objects and includes all the cloths which are wound around the waist or are tied around the head.

35.39.88. Woman's sash from Lisu. Fig. 15 and 19. The material is blue cotton cloth which is cut on the bias and folded under in the same way as is the case with European man's tie. At each end of the sash there is a decoration consisting of appliqués made of white and yellow cotton cloth and bright red flannel. The sash is 2.54 m. long and 0.25 m. wide.

35.39.89. Head cloth for a woman, from Lisu. Fig. 19. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. The head wrap is made by sewing together two pieces of cloth, lengthwise, and in the middle there is inserted a 0.33 m. wide horizontal stripe of light blue cotton cloth lined with the same material. At each end the head cloth is finished with 0.07 wide horizontal stripes made of several layers of white and yellow cotton cloth and red flannel. Where the horizontal stripes begin, and parallel to them, there are sewn on the head cloth proper a row of metal bells, red glass beads and white pearl buttons. The striped section at each end of the head cloth is finished with seven long tassels, each one of which is made of four chains of yellow and green glass beads held together in pairs by a tassel of brown woolen yarn. The head cloth measures 2.02 m. \times 0.33–0.43 m.

35.39.95. Head band for woman from Lisu. Fig. 16 and 19. The material is bright red woolen cotton cloth and at one end of the band a coin has been sewn on. The band is 0.55 m. long and 0.05 m. wide.

35.39.274. Head cloth, "ã tö", from Lisu. There is no information as to whether this garment has been worn by a man or woman. The material is dark blue cotton cloth. At each end there are six horizontal stripes in the colours, from inside towards the edge, bright red, yellow, yellow, bright red, yellow, yellow. Each stripe consists of two layers of



Fig. 17. Woman's costume from the tribe Kachin. Myitkyina. The costume consists of a sleeveless blouse (35.39.273), covered by a short jacket (35.39.266) and a closed skirt (35.39.267), as well as tube-like leggings (35.39.265).

cloth. The blue cotton cloth, of which the head wrap is made, is finished with fringe, which falls down over the striped section when the cloth is put on the head. Along the fringe there is a row of metal bells and white pearl buttons which have been sewn on. From the outermost stripe at one end of the garment hang chains of blue and green glass beads, joined in pairs with tassels of brown woolen yarn. This type of head cloth is described by Enriquez as "a sort of gay head-wrap ornamented with tassels".¹ It measures 2.10 m. by 0.30 m.

35.39.279. Head cloth for woman, from Kachin.² The material is black cotton cloth with woven-in designs, mainly in bright red and brown. The cloth is not cut in one piece but is made of several pieces of cloth sewn together, the pieces differing in material and pattern. At each end of the cloth there is a section decorated with chains of glass beads in a fish-net pattern and finished with tassels of green silk thread. The head cloth measures 2.06 m. by 0.20 m.

35.39.531. Woman's head cloth from Yang Lam. Fig. 21. The material is orange-coloured cotton cloth with bright red horizontal stripes. The cloth measures 1.78 m. by 0.42 m.

¹ Enriquez, 1923, 136.

² Wehrli, 1904, 42. Gilhodes, 1910, 621, "Arrivées à un certain âge entre 25 et 30 ans les femmes laissent croître toute leur chevelure qu'elles ramènent et nouent au sommet de la tête. Alors seulement elles portent un turban bleu-foncé qu'elles enroulent en laissant à l'étoffe toute sa largeur de manière à lui donner la forme d'un tube".

35.39.711. Man's head cloth from Skaw Karen. The material is white cotton cloth with horizontal stripes in yellow and green and vertical stripes in bright red. The head cloth is finished with fringe at both ends and measures, without fringe, 1.00 m. by 0.17 m.

The head cloths for fig. 20, 22 and 23 have not been examined.



Fig. 18. Woman's costume from the tribe Maru. Washaung. The costume consists of jacket (35.39.270), closed skirt (35.39.269) and head cloth.



Fig. 19. Woman's costume from the tribe Lisu. Kambaiti. The costume consists of caftan (35.39.86), apron (35.39.87), head cloth (35.39.89), tube-like leggings (35.39.90), short trousers (35.39.92), breast-cover (35.39.94) and head band (35.39.95) and sash (35.39.88).



Fig. 20. Woman's costume from the tribe Yang Hsek. Loi Hsang. The costume consists of a sleeveless gown (35.39.492) and head cloth.



Fig. 21. Woman's costume from the tribe Yang Lam. Wang Pang. The costume consists of sleeveless blouse (35.39.529), closed skirt (35.39.530), and head cloth (35.39.531).



Fig. 22. Woman's costume from the tribe Taungthu. Pamoné. The costume consists of sleeveless blouse (35.39.403), closed skirt (35.39.404), cylindrical forearm sleeves (35.39.407), open, draped leggings (35.39.405), and head cloth.



Fig. 23. Woman's costume from the tribe Taungyo. Thitpintaung. The costume consists of sleeveless blouse (35.39.398), closed skirt (35.39.399), cylindrical forearm sleeves (35.39.401), open, draped leggings (35.39.400), and head cloth.



Fig. 24. Woman's costume from the tribe Skaw Karen. Mekane. The costume consists of a sleeveless blouse (35.39.659), a closed skirt (35.39.801), and a large, flat straw-hat.



Fig. 25. Woman's costume from the tribe Skaw Karen. Mekane. The costume consists of a sleeveless blouse (35.39.714), an open, draped skirt (35.39.715) and a large flat straw-hat.

ANALYSIS OF THE CUT OF THE GARMENTS

The garments which were brought back from Highland Burma by the Malaise couple as well as those which at an earlier date were brought to the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum from the same tribes have now been described and studied by groups, according to their type, with special reference to the cut. We shall now make an analysis of the different types of cutting.

In my study of Mongolian costumes,¹ which is a continuation of Gudmund Hatt's basic research on Arctic skin garments,² certain basic forms have been set up from which the more complicated garments may have developed. As regards the garments resting on the shoulders we have the cloak and poncho³ as basic garments from each of which there has developed a series of other garments consisting of both closed cloakformed, and open caftan-like, garments.

Of the forms which can trace their origin back to the cloak and which show their derivation in the absence of side seams and the presence of cross seams either at breast or shoulder level, that is, the closed cloak gown⁴ and the open cloak caftan,⁵ there is no specimen represented in the costume material from Highland Burma studied here.

The case is different with those forms which can be traced back to the poncho. Both the sleeveless blouses (group A) and the sleeveless gowns (group B) have developed from the ordinary poncho which has been sewn together at the side. They are poncho gowns.⁶ They are sleeveless. Poncho gowns may have sleeves cut as elongation of the body of the garment and they may have sleeves inserted at right angles.⁷ None of these forms, however, is represented in the material from Highland Burma.

A poncho can be cut in two pieces at the front or, if it is made of two

¹ *Mongol Costumes*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Række III, Copenhagen, 1950.

² *Arktiske Skinddragter i Eurasien og Amerika*. Copenhagen, 1914.

³ Hansen, 1950, 97, 109. Hatt, 1914, 49 ff, 118 ff.

⁴ Hansen, 1950, 100, 109.

⁵ Hansen, 1950, 100, 109.

⁶ Hansen, 1950, 102, 109.

⁷ Hansen, 1950, 102.

lengths of cloth, the lengthwise seam can be opened from the neckhole down to the lower edge. If it is then sewn together at the sides it becomes a poncho caftan.¹ This caftan may be sleeveless, or have sleeves cut as an elongation of the body, or have sleeves inserted at right angles.²

This poncho caftan is represented in this material from Highland Burma taken up here by the caftans (group D) and in a shorter form by the jackets (group C). While the caftans, as well as the other group of jackets (C, b, 2), have sleeves inserted at right angles, the sleeveless poncho caftan is represented by jackets of the first group (C, a) and sleeves cut as an elongation of the body are represented in the jackets (group C, b, 1).

Five of the six jackets have a vertical opening in the middle of the front (genuine front opening),³ while the right-hand closure so characteristic of the Mongolian and Chinese costumes can be seen in the sixth jacket (35.39.270). In this jacket the right-hand closure has been made by "overlapping", that is, an extra front piece is sewn on the left side of the vertical opening in the middle.⁴ The right-hand closure can however also be made as I have mentioned before (p. 27) by cutting through the poncho, which is the basic garment, in a horizontal line running from the neck opening towards the shoulders. The extra frontal piece which is necessary for the right-hand closure is in this case sewn to the upper edge of the opening thus made, and hangs down as a concealed inside right-hand front piece. This form is called "underlapping"⁵ and is represented among the garments from Highland Burma by the three caftans (group D).⁶

Besides the forms which have developed from the ordinary poncho there are also among the costumes from Highland Burma garments which derive from the type of poncho which Gudmund Hatt calls "the two-skin poncho",⁷ and which I have called "the shoulder-seam poncho".⁸ The sleeveless waistcoats (group E) have developed from this garment.⁹

In my study of the Mongolian costumes I showed how the loin-cloth can develop into both draped trousers¹⁰ and an open draped skirt,¹¹ and

¹ Hansen, 1950, 102, 109.

² Hansen, 1950, 103, 111.

³ Hansen, 1950, 103.

⁴ Hansen, 1950, 103, cf. 13, fig. 10.

⁵ Hansen, 1950, 103, cf. 13, fig. 11.

⁶ Hansen, 1950, fig. 20, 23, 24, 27, 28.

⁷ Hatt, 1914, 56 ff.

⁸ Hansen, 1950, 104, 109.

⁹ Hansen, 1950, fig. 84.

¹⁰ Hansen, 1950, 108.

¹¹ Hansen, 1950, 108, 110.

the latter in turn into a closed skirt, sewn together.¹ Both the open draped skirt (group F, a) and the closed skirt (group F, b) are represented in the material from Highland Burma.

I also mentioned in the above study how leggings and breech-cloths can each be considered a basic form from which different types of trousers develop² while leggings and breech-cloths together make up the third form, the compound form.³

Both the basic form leggings (group J) and the three types of trousers (group G, a—c) are represented in the material from Highland Burma.

¹ Hansen, 1950, 87, 108, 110.

² Hansen, 1950, 106, 110: Genuine legging trousers, fig. 96—98, 100. Hatt, 1914, 152 ff.: Breechcloth-Brogen, pl. XIII, 1—4.

³ Hansen, 1950, 107, 110: Compound form, trousers with inserted central part, fig. 99, 101.

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CUTS OF GARMENTS

The tribes	A Poncho blouse	B Poncho gown	C Poncho jacket	D Poncho caftan	E Waist- coat +	F. a Open skirt	F. b Closed skirt	G. a Legging trousers	G. b Breech-cloth trousers	G. c Compound form
Kachin	o		o x			o x o	o x			
Maru			o				o			
Lisu			(x)	o x	(x x)			(x)		o x
Intha	o									
Taungyo...	o						o			
Yang Hsek		o	x							
Yang Lam	o						o			x
Skaw Karen	o o o	x				o	o x			
Taungthu ..	o						o			
Karen-ni...							o			x
Zayein	o		x						x	
Padaung...	o						o			x

o = women's garment

x = men's garment

() = garment imported from China

+ = shoulder-seam poncho waistcoat

MATERIALS AND COLOURS

Cotton cloth is the most important material for costumes in those studied here. A sleeveless blouse (35.39.482) from Intha and a skirt (35.39.399) from Taungyo are however made from hempen cloth and Kauffmann states that hemp in many cases is used as a substitute for cotton as material for garments among the mountain tribes of Highland Burma.¹ Another important costume material is velvet. In the collection studied here, we find it used for jackets and separate forearm sleeves among the Kachin, Taungyo and Taungthu. In addition to the tribes visited by the Malaise couple, mention is made of the use of velvet among the Palaung in works by Eickstedt,² Milne³ and Gebauer.⁴ That it is in general use among the Shan, in whose states the tribes visited by the Malaise couple live, is mentioned by Milne,⁵ among others. In the Tibetan costume velvet is well known as a material and can be considered a northern influence in the Highland Burma costume as it is found both among the Shan and among the mountain tribes of Burma.

In appliqué work and decoration of the costumes the Kachin in particular use bright red flannel. According to Milne the tribe can nowadays (since 1910) buy the cheap European flannel — around 1910 it was German flannel — and he mentions that German silk and velvet fill the markets of the Shan to which the Kachin tribes come down from their mountains to buy cloth for their costumes, while before the appearance of the European cloth in the Shan states the women themselves wove and dyed the bright red cloth which they cut in strips for decoration of their costumes.⁶ The bright red flannel which can be bought at the markets in the Shan states, is used only by the mountain tribes, never by the Shan themselves.⁷

As regards the material for the costumes of the Karen tribes Marshall states that the cloth for the skirt, "longyi", is woven by the women them-

¹ Kauffmann, 1934, 26.

² Eickstedt, 1926, 26.

³ Milne, 1924, 212, 222.

⁴ Gebauer, 1912, 459.

⁵ Milne, 1910, 80.

⁶ Milne, 1910, 137, 139.

⁷ Milne, 1910, 33.

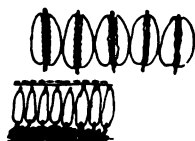


Fig. 26. Detail from woman's caftan, Lisu. 35.39.86. See pl. 1 b.

selves, while the sleeveless blouse is often made from imported cloth, generally black velvet.¹

As to the making of the cloth Wehrli states that the women, especially among the Kachin, are efficient at weaving cotton cloth and that each family originally wove its own cloth from cotton which they cultivated on their own swiddens, "taungys". The favourite colour was dark blue, produced from indigo which was cultivated everywhere in small quantities.² Other colours were obtained from various wild plants.³ Scherman states that the colour most used is dark, often almost black, indigo blue with fine light blue stripes woven in at 6 cm. intervals.⁴

Regarding the Karen tribes Marshall provides the information that they dye cotton yarn in all shades from blue to black as well as red and yellow. In order to produce the blue colour the yarn is dipped in a solution made from the leaves and bark of the wild indigo plant which is called "naw xaw", while the red colour is obtained from "stick-lac so commonly found in the Taungoo Hills". He also mentions that during the years preceding the first World War a number of foreign dyes were brought in to the Karen tribes, yellow dye among others. The process of weaving together yarn of different colours in a pattern was called "u", which means dipping the fingers, and in this process certain threads were lifted up by the fingers so that the horizontal threads could pass. He mentions furthermore that after the weaving the cloth was dipped in water and spread out to dry and that such hand-made stuff was very firmly woven, very strong and durable.⁵

When this paper had been paginated and was in the process of being printed the work of R. A. Innes *Costumes of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (1957) came to my knowledge. In this connection I want specially to refer to its pages 43—44 on Dyeing.

¹ Marshall, 1945, 18.

² Wehrli, 1904, 47. For the colour indigo cf. Kauffmann, 1934, 27.

³ Cf. Start and Wright, 1936, 67. Shway Yoe, 1910, 272 ff.

⁴ Scherman, 1922, 103.

⁵ Marshall, 1922, 110 ff.

FOREARM SLEEVES AND LEGGINGS

Special garments for arms and legs in the form of forearm sleeves and leggings are an interesting phenomenon in this collection of costumes from Highland Burma. In the European costume, arms can be covered by sleeves which are an attached part of a larger or smaller garment which covers the upper part of the body, while the legs can be covered by long trousers. The arms can also be covered by an elongation of the covering of the hand in the form of long gloves, just as the legs can be covered by an elongation of the covering of the foot in the form of stockings. But the forearm sleeves and leggings from Highland Burma are neither gloves nor stockings. They are special garments made expressly for the forearms and the lower legs. The separate forearm sleeve is tube-shaped and is sewn together by a length-wise seam; it is tied on with a cord and can be taken off when work or comfort demand it. The separate leggings can either have the same form as the separate forearm sleeves or they can be an oblong piece of cloth wound round the legs and tied on.

Research shows that there are separate forearm sleeves in use among the women of the tribes Taungyo, Taungthu and Yang Hsek. The use of them among the Taungthu is mentioned by Sherman who, in describing the women's costume, mentions: "die an kühlen Tagen den Armlochrändern angefügten Armstutzen . . ."¹ Concerning this garment among the Taungyo, the same author states that these separate sleeves of cotton cloth or "Plüsch" substitute for the lacking sleeves in the sleeveless "Kittel"-costume² when the women is not at work.

That separate forearm sleeves are also in use among tribes in regions other than those visited by the Malaise couple is mentioned by Milne, who points out that they are used in the tribe Palaung where they are called "kar-ti" and are made of velvet.³ Such separate forearm sleeves can also be seen in a costume from Palaung (C. d. 349) in the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum in Copenhagen. That separate forearm sleeves are also used by the mountain tribes of Siam is mentioned by

¹ Scherman, 1922, 83.

² Scherman, 1922, 84.

³ Milne, 1924, 212.

Hutchinson who states that they are in use among the women of the tribe Lawa.¹

While the information on the use of the separate forearm sleeves is comparatively sparse, there is a considerable amount available on the separate leggings, which have clearly attracted more attention.

Research shows that leggings are used by the women of the Kachin, Maru, Taungyo and Taungthu, and that they are used by both women and men among the Lisu.

Concerning their use among the tribe Kachin, Scott mentions that the women always cover their calves with leggings of cloth and that these coverings are neither specially well-made nor beautiful but that they are very useful on the narrow mountain paths where every bush and tuft of grass has its colony of "leeches reared up on end like caterpillars, gaping to suck human blood".² Gilhodes says about the same tribe that both men and women wear "jambières".³ Wehrli characterizes the leggings he is familiar with from the tribe Kachin as "Tuchbinden nach Art von Gamaschen",⁴ while Gebauer uses the term "Wadenstrümpfe"⁵ and points out, as Scott also does, that they serve as protection against the briars of the jungle. Scherman who calls leggings "Wadengamaschen, Wadenhüllen"⁶ mentions that besides being used by the Kachin they are in use among the Lisu.⁷ Enriquez informs us that these "gaiters" among the Lisu are worn by both men and women.⁸ Scherman also uses the term "Wadentücher", which can indicate that it is a question of open, draped leggings and not the tube-shaped ones that are sewn together. He mentions that they are in use among the women of the Taungyo⁹ and the Taungthu.¹⁰

That they are used among the Palaung as well as among the tribes visited by the Malaise couple is mentioned by Scherman,¹¹ Enriquez,¹² and Milne,¹³ as well as Eickstedt.¹⁴ Woodthorpe states that leggings are

¹ Hutchinson, 1935, fig. p. 154, 172.

² Scott, 1932, 270.

³ Gilhodes, 1910, 620.

⁴ Wehrli, 1904, 42.

⁵ Gebauer, 1912, 465.

⁶ Scherman, 1922, 102, 103.

⁷ Scherman, 1922, 124.

⁸ Enriquez, 1923, 136.

⁹ Scherman, 1922, 84.

¹⁰ Scherman, 1922, 83.

¹¹ Scherman, 1922, 73.

¹² Enriquez, 1923, 183.

¹³ Milne, 1924, 212, "The leggings (kar-jüng) are squares of indigoblue or brightly coloured velvet".

¹⁴ Eickstedt, 1929, 26, calls them "Wickelgamaschen".

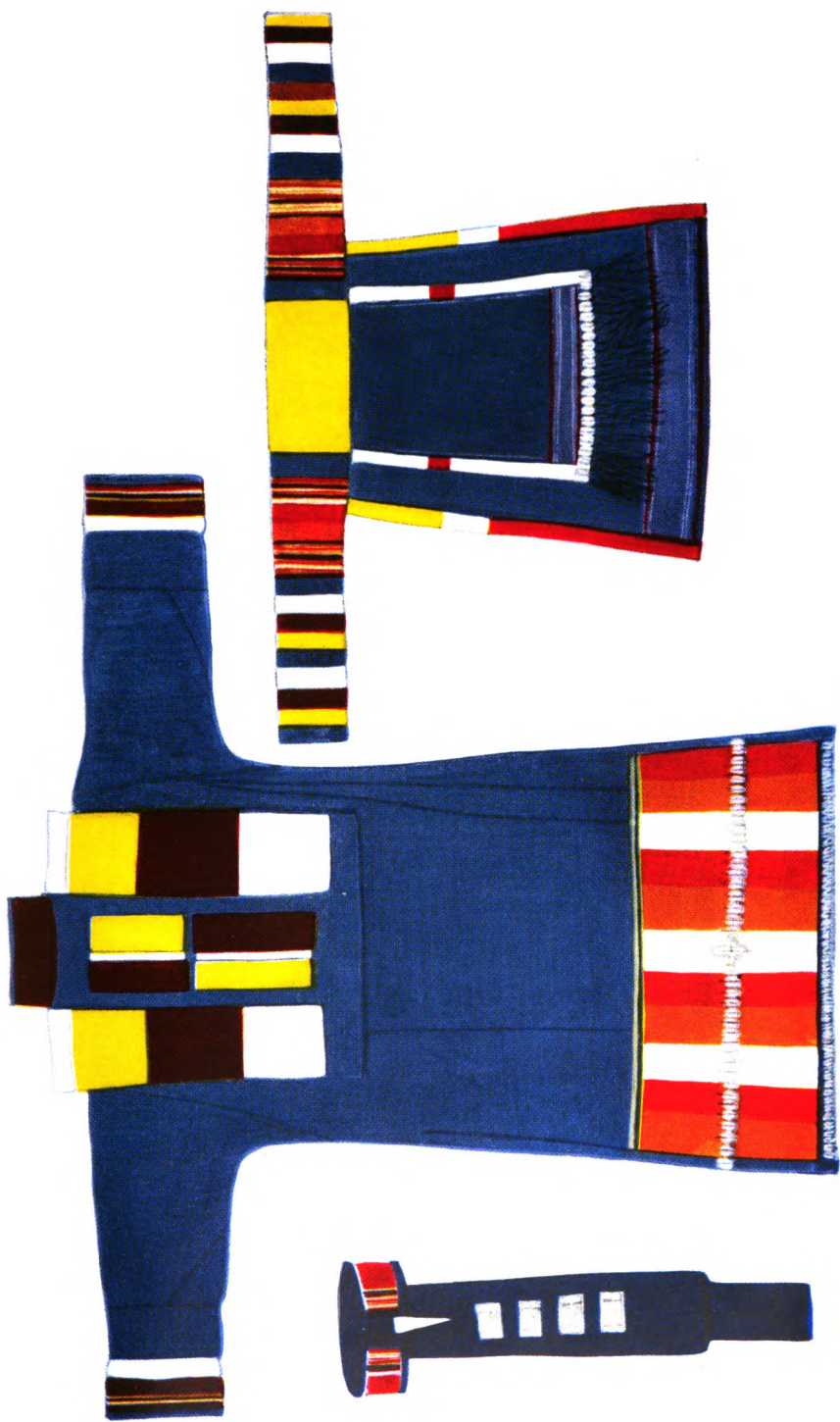


Plate 1. *a*, Woman's breast-cover. Lisu. 35.39.94. *b*, Woman's caftan, Lisu. 35.39.86. *c*, Woman's apron, Lisu. 35.39.87.

in use among the Kaw, a mountain tribe which lives in the Shan states east of the Salween.¹ Hutchinson² and Seidenfaden³ mention that leggings are worn among the Lawa tribe, while their use among the Lamet and Puli Akha is mentioned by Izikowitz.⁴ Lunet de Lajonquière also states that leggings are used among the Tai tribes in Tonkin,⁵ and Mills states that they are used among the tribe Ao Naga and makes a point of the fact that the only garment which is worth mentioning is "the puttees".⁶ Everything thus substantiates what Heine-Geldern says: that leggings, which he calls "Gamaschen", are characteristic garments for many mountain tribes in Assam and Highland Burma and he even includes Formosa.⁷

¹ Woodthorpe, 1897, 28.

² Hutchinson, 1935, fig. p. 154.

³ Seidenfaden, 1940, 32.

⁴ Izikowitz, 1943, 144, "Les hommes n'ont que de courtes molletières, tandis que les femmes ont de véritables leggings; ce ne sont pas des bandes, mais des cylindres d'étoffe qui couvrent les jambes".

⁵ Lunet de Lajonquière, 1906, 111, "Des jambières aussi en cotonnade bleue, de forme triangulaire, qui moulent complètement le mollet, sont employées surtout pour la marche . . ."

⁶ Mills, 1926, 40.

⁷ Heine-Geldern, 1923, 836.

THE MAN'S COSTUME

The garments have now been described, analyzed, and grouped according to their type. The form, cut, material, and colours have been treated. There now remains the grouping of the garments according to tribes, and the assembling of them as far as possible into complete costumes.

We shall begin with the garments for men. No specimens have been brought back from the three tribes visited: Taungyo, Intha and Taungthu;¹ from Maru there is only one pair of leggings (35.39.271) about which no information is given as to whether they have been worn by a man or a woman. Thus we have left for consideration twenty garments for men, which can be classified as follows:

The tribe Kachin is represented by one closed, man's skirt of knee-length² (35.39.217) and a short, open, draped skirt (35.39.215), about which there is no information as to whether it has been worn by a man or a woman. A sleeveless jacket (33.39.281) has been brought back before the Malaise expedition.

With regard to the man's costume in this tribe, Scherman³ says that the men formerly wore a skirt which in its colours and woven-in borders was similar to the women's simple, everyday skirt which was white with coppercoloured and black stripes along the edges of the cloth. The skirt in question is, however, of plaid cotton cloth, thus in the matter of cloth colours it does not follow Scherman's description, but it serves to support the theory that the man's costume in this tribe has, at least earlier, been a skirt-type of garment, as in the case of the tribe Maru about which Ward says that the men there wear a "loin skirt" ("lone-gyi").⁴ Theoretically the jacket in question may have been worn together with both a loin skirt and a pair of trousers. However, we have a description of a Kachin man's costume given by Gilhodes. It indicates that the man's costume consists of

¹ Scherman, 1922, 82. As to the tribe Taungthu it is stated that the men are dressed as among the Shan.

² Cf. Wehrli, 1904, 42, where the skirt of this tribe is compared to the Scotch "kilt", which would indicate that it was open.

³ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 103, where it is mentioned that the men formerly wore a skirt corresponding in pattern to the women's everyday skirt.

⁴ Ward, 1921, 152.

a sleeveless jacket, "palawng", in dark blue, sometimes white, with closure at the side and worn hanging loose. With this are worn not a loin skirt but short, wide, knee-length dark blue trousers, "labu".¹

That the jacket (Gilhodes calls it a "waistcoat") is sleeveless and can be white corresponds with the form and colour of the specimen in question. It differs from Gilhodes' description in that it has a vertical opening down the front instead of a closure to the right.

Upon examination of the limited material and the above-mentioned information it appears that the man's costume among the Kachin can be both a skirt costume as among the tribe Maru, the neighbouring tribe, and a costume consisting of jacket and knee-length trousers. Gilhodes also mentions, however, that the Kachin men do not stick to their original costume but that they often are seen wearing Burmese, Chinese, or discarded European clothes.²

From the tribe Lisu there is a complete man's costume consisting of jacket (35.39.219), waistcoat (35.39.220), and trousers (35.39.218), all three garments made of plain dark blue cotton cloth. The costume is said to be of Chinese origin. This supports Scherman's point that regarding types of houses, way of living, and costumes, the Lisu tribe shows its relation to the Chinese province Yünnan, from which it originally wandered to its present locality.³ Scherman also mentions that the man's costume among the Lisu, as among the Shan, consists of dark blue jacket, trousers, and turban,⁴ which is not disproved by this costume.

Besides this costume showing Chinese influence there is another man's costume from the same tribe but of rather different type. It consists of a comparatively long coat-like garment, a caftan (35.39.96). It is made from white, undyed cotton cloth, with slits at both sides, and has a right-hand closure. It is cut in a way which clearly shows its connection with the Tibetan caftans. Belonging to this caftan, which is said to be an under-caftan, there are a pair of wide knee-length trousers (35.39.102) made of dark blue cotton cloth, a waistcoat (35.39.97) also of dark blue cotton cloth, supposed to be of Chinese origin, and a pair of leggings (35.39.100).

Ward gives an illustration of a man from the so-called "black" Lisu,

¹ Gilhodes, 1910, 619.

² Cf. Gilhodes, 1910, 619. Scherman, 1922, 102. Gebauer, 1912, 465, where it is stated that the men's costume in the tribe "K'tschin" is similar to the costume which is worn by the Shan and by Chinese coolies.

³ Scherman, 1922, 124.

⁴ Scherman, 1922, 124.

H'-Lisu, dressed in a similar knee-length caftan.¹ The same author states that with this "dressing-gown", which is said to have slits at the sides up to the waist, there are worn short "baggy" trousers.² This information corresponds rather well with the material which has been brought back.

In addition to the pair of leggings already mentioned, which belong to the last-named, complete, man's costume, there has also been brought back from the same tribe still another pair of man's leggings (35.39.789). Concerning the use of leggings, Ward says that they are used by the men of the Lisu tribe even when they have taken over the Chinese way of dressing, and that wearing leggings the men do not use any foot-wear but go barefoot.³

These two complete man's costumes from the Lisu tribe thus show examples of both the caftan costume, consisting of caftan as the main garment, covering the short wide trousers worn underneath, and of the actual trousercostume, consisting of short trousers which are visible below a jacket.

No complete man's costumes have been obtained from the two Riang tribes. Yang Hsek is represented by a jacket (35.39.494) of undyed cotton cloth and Yang Lam by a pair of trousers (35.39.495) of dark blue cotton cloth which are said to be of old Chinese type not used nowadays.

Finally there remain the garments from the different Karen tribes. From Zayein, which belongs to the Bwe group of the Karen, there has been obtained a complete man's costume of white undyed cotton cloth consisting of jacket (35.37.738) and short, wide trousers (35.37.739). That the men in this tribe wear especially short trousers is mentioned by Scherman,⁴ who also says that white is the colour most used for their costumes.⁵

From Padaung, which also belongs to the Bwe group of the Karen, have been obtained a pair of man's trousers (35.39.628). Scott tells about the men of this tribe that most of them wear the same costume as the western Shan people, a short jacket and long wide trousers, but that the men from remote villages, far from the channels of commerce, still hold to the costume originally used by all the mountaineers, the costume with very short trousers and rings of rattan round the legs above the calves.⁶ The specimens of man's trousers brought back are noteworthy in that they are

¹ Ward, 1921, 184, fig. opp. p. 184: "A black Lisu of the Ahkyang. Note the cotton 'gown'".

² Ward, 1921, 200.

³ Ward, 1921, 122.

⁴ Scherman, 1922, 94.

⁵ Scherman, 1922, 91.

⁶ Scott, 1932, 97.

rather short and obviously represent the oldfashioned form mentioned by Scott.

From the Karen-ni or the red Karen has been obtained a pair of man's trousers (33.39.623) of coarse cotton cloth of the bright red colour from which the tribe has got its name, "the red" Karen.¹ The trousers are rather short. The Karen-ni belong as do the two foregoing tribes, to the Bwe group within the Karen, and the material obtained from all three tribes shows trousers, a short type of men's trousers only. The trouser-costume does not, however, seem to be the most characteristic type of costume among these tribes. According to Marshall the men wear the open, draped, short skirt, which he calls "loin-cloth". But he adds in parenthesis, "sometimes replaced by short trousers".² With the skirt a sleeveless blouse similar to the women's blouses is worn.³

There is, however, a man's skirt, which has been obtained from another of the Karen tribes, the Skaw Karen (35.39.710). From the same tribe there is a turban (35.39.711) and in addition a garment which represents an older type of costume than the trouser and skirt dress. It is a long gown with vertical red and white stripes (35.39.657). Scherman states that this sleeveless gown was originally the typical Karen garment, called "thindang" by the Burmese, that it was the single garment for men, boys, and young girls, but that it was gradually disappearing.⁴ Under the term "hse" this shirt is mentioned by Marshall, who says that it is the only garment worn by the men in the Sgaw tribe of the Karen and in the Pwo group, and he adds that in Moulmein and in the Papon districts the cloth for these gowns is woven in vertical white and red stripes.⁵ The specimen in question thus corresponds very well with the available information.

What do we learn from these twenty garments, distributed among eight tribes? We learn, as a matter of fact, surprisingly much, considering what a small number of garments we have at our disposal.

They show that here among these mountain tribes in the Shan states of Highland Burma we can see the loin skirt characteristic of S. E. Asia and also the foreign element in S. E. Asia which the trousers represent. The loin skirt has been brought back from the Kachin and Skaw Karen, of which the former tribe represents the Tibetan-Burmese, and the latter the Siamese-Chinese language group.

¹ Marshall, 1922, 37.

² Marshall, 1922, 35.

³ Marshall, 1922, 35, fig. p. 36.

⁴ Scherman, 1922, 81.

⁵ Marshall, 1922, 35.

The foreign element, the trousers, has come to Highland Burma through two channels and at two different periods. At the earlier period the trousers came from the north with the Tai tribes and others who wandered southward from China.¹ Later, during the twelfth century the trousers came to Highland Burma along with the Mohammedan religion, Islam. The material investigated shows that trousers in the man's costume are in use among the Lisu, the Riang tribe Yang Lam, and the Karen tribes Zayein, Padaung and Karen-ni, that is, in the man's costume in tribes belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese, Mon-Khmer, and the Siamese-Chinese language groups.

The material studied shows also that trousers in the man's costume are in use towards the north among the Lisu and down to the southernmost of the tribes visited, the Karen-ni.

The above-mentioned under-castan from Lisu is in shape and cut related to Tibetan garments. It shows that also in the field of men's costumes there is a relationship between this northern tribe belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese language group and Tibet.

Finally the red-and-white-striped, man's gown from the Skaw Karen is an example of the oldest and most primitive form of man's costume among the Karen, a gown later shortened to become a blouse completed with skirt or trousers.

Among the costumes from Highland Burma's mountain tribes we can assume that it is the man's costume rather than the woman's which has been most influenced by the costumes used by the people of a higher cultural level who live in the neighbouring valleys.² It is stated by several travellers and it is a well known fact that the men in primitive communities have more opportunities for coming into contact with the outer world and are therefore less conservative in dress than the women.

The mountain tribes visited by the Malaise couple lived in the Shan states. It can therefore be of interest to investigate the types of costume which are in use among the Shan themselves as well as among the Burmese, Siamese, Chinese and Tibetan peoples.

Among the Shan the man's costume consists of a loose jacket and with this is worn either a loin skirt or trousers, while on the head the men wear a cloth wound round the head as a sort of turban and on top of this a large straw hat.³ Milne describes the costume as consisting of jacket and very wide trousers, the seat of which hangs so far down towards the ankles

¹ Cf. Heine-Geldern, 1923, 836.

² Cf. Scherman, 1922, 102. Scott, 1932, 173. Marshall, 1922, 37.

³ Gebauer, 1912, 449.

that the trousers resemble a skirt.¹ Woodthorpe gives a description in 1897 of the costume worn by the western Shan, according to which it consists of a short jacket and wide trousers, generally white but for feasts of coloured silk and velvet. They are shaped like a bag with holes in the corners for the feet.² At the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum of Copenhagen there is a man's costume from Shan (C. d. 347) consisting of a loose jacket and wide trousers as well as a turban and a large straw hat. The trousers which reach to the ankles, are in cut a compound form of leggings and breech-cloth trousers.

The Tibetan man's costume is a caftan type. The long caftan is worn with a belt³ and covers a pair of trousers. The Chinese man's costume is of trouser type, while in Burma we see the skirt used as man's costume. The skirt, "paso", is a long silken cloth, 15 cubits long and 2½ cubit wide, which is wrapped round the body as a skirt reaching down to the feet; a corner of the cloth is tucked in at the waist to hold the skirt firmly, while the extra length hangs in folds about the waist or is thrown loosely over the shoulders. The upper part of the body is covered by a short jacket.⁴

The main garment in the Siamese man's costume is also a piece of cloth which is wrapped round the hips but not in the form of a loin skirt. After the loin garment, "panung", has been wrapped round the waist the superfluous cloth is tucked in between the legs and fastened in the back at the waist so as to make a kind of short trousers.⁵ As Graham writes, "The result is much like a pair of kneebreeches".⁶ Finally if we go as far south as to Malaya we see that here also the man's costume is a skirt type.

We see thus that we have the caftan costume to the north in Tibet and China. The caftan is the typical Central Asian garment, which we find in a region stretching from Turan over Mongolia to North China and farther to the east to Korea and Japan.

The trouser-costume we find as a man's costume in South China, and we find it among the Shan in whose districts the visited mountain tribes live. In addition Scherman emphasizes the fact that the Shan's man's costume with the loose jacket, which is often closed on the right side, and the wide sack-like trousers, are a Chinese form which is not only used

¹ Milne, 1910, 80. Cf. Scherman, 1922, 46.

² Woodthorpe, 1897, 16. Cf. Gebauer, 1912, 449.

³ MacDonald, 1929, 156 ff.

⁴ Shway Yoe, 1910, 72 ff. MacKenzie, 1853, 85.

⁵ Cf. Mützel, 1925, 67. "Beide Geschlechter tragen dasselbe Kostüm. Bei beiden ist das Hüfttuch (panung) zu Hosenform gestaltet und durch einen Gürtel gehalten".

⁶ Graham, 1924, 151 ff.

by the men of Shan but also by the men of the mountain tribes who live in the Shan districts.¹

The skirt costume worn by men we find in Burma, Siam, and further to the south. Thus all three types of man's costume, the caftan costume, the trouser costume, and the skirt costume, are found among the mountain tribes of Highland Burma visited by the Malaise couple, and all three types are represented in the material obtained there.

¹ Scherman, 1922, 46.

THE WOMAN'S COSTUME

Of the women's garments there are forty-six specimens all told and they are distributed among all the tribes which were visited by the Malaise couple. There are ten women's costumes and these represent nine of the twelve tribes visited.

Among them is a complete woman's costume from Kachin (fig. 17). It consists of a short closed skirt (35.39.267) held in place by a row of large ratan rings which are placed around the waist and hang down around the hips.¹ To go with the skirt there is a sleeveless blouse (35.39.273) which is covered by a long-sleeved velvet jacket (35.39.266). About these last two garments Scherman says that among the Kachin a sleeveless blouse with a hole for the head is the working dress of the women and is used during the cooler part of the year as an under-garment, and that belonging to the complete costume there is an outer garment, a jacket with sleeves and a vertical opening at the lower part of the front.² This description checks up very well with the costume here. Belonging to the costume are closed, tube-like leggings (35.39.265) which cover the legs from knee to ankle. We find a description of the woman's costume among the Kachin given by both Wehrli³ and Gilhodes. The latter mentions that the women wear a jacket, "palawng", of the same colour as the men's but decorated with silver buttons, "dugawp",⁴ which have been sewn on, a description which checks up very well with the costume brought back. This must have been worn by an unmarried girl since there is no head-dress belonging to it. The unmarried girls among the Kachin go bareheaded and have their hair cut short, while the married women wear a turban which protects the hair. Scherman describes such a turban of dark blue cotton cloth wound about the head and standing very high⁵ and there is a similar turban meant for a married woman among the specimens from Kachin

¹ Cf. Scherman, 1922, 102, "eine Anzahl Rohrreifen, bei einigen Stämmen mit Kaurimuscheln besetzt, werden als Hüftenringe darüber geschoben".

² Scherman, 1922, 102, Abbildung 55.

³ Wehrli, 1902, 42.

⁴ Gilhodes, 1910, 619.

⁵ Scherman, 1922, 102.

(35.39.279). It is, however, not of blue, but of black cotton cloth. There is still another woman's skirt from the same tribe besides the one that belongs to the complete woman's costume. But while the latter is closed, that is tube-shaped, the other skirt (35.39.268) is open, that is, a rectangular piece of cloth which is wrapped round the body. Thus it seems that both the closed and the open skirt can be found as part of the woman's costume among the Kachin, but the origin of the latter skirt is not quite certain.

There is also a complete woman's costume (fig. 18) from the tribe Maru. It is of the same type as the woman's costume from Kachin and consists of a knee-length, closed skirt (35.39.269), and a jacket with right-hand closure (35.39.270) as well as a turban. The woman's costume among the Maru is mentioned by Ward but he states that the skirt is of the open, draped type, as well as a photograph of two Maru women shows them dressed in jackets and open, draped skirts.¹ It thus seems that at least in this tribe we may assume that both types of skirts are in use.

The third complete woman's costume, obtained from the Lisu, shows a type entirely different from the skirt costume. With this complete costume (fig. 19) there is neither skirt nor jacket. The main garment is the kneelength, coat-like caftan. This garment (35.39.86) which in cut is like the Tibetan caftans, is shorter at the front than at the back. A pair of short, wide trousers (35.39.92) and a breast-cover (35.39.94) are worn under it. Outside the caftan a belt is wound around the waist (35.39.88) and the short front piece is covered by an apron (35.39.87). Tube-like leggings (35.39.90) cover the legs. A turban (35.39.89) around which is wound a decorative band (35.39.95) is worn. This costume checks up completely with the description of the woman's costume among the Hua Lisu or the "flowery" Lisu, which is given by Scherman: "Die Gewandung war aus hell- und dunkelblauem Baumwollstoff; das über Hosen getragene Überkleid reichte rückwärts bis über die Waden, vorn war es kürzer und von einer Doppelschürze gedeckt, . . . Von der Schürze fällt rückwärts eine lange, breite, verzierte Stoffschärpe nieder." He mentions also that the head is covered by a turban.² The components of the costume also correspond with the following description which is given by Enriquez: "a large turban, or a sort of gay head-wrap ornamented with tassels, coat, shorts, gaiters, with a long apron plentifully decorated with patterns in green, yellow and red."³

¹ Ward, 1921, fig. frontespiece.

² Scherman, 1922, 126.

³ Enriquez, 1923, 136.

From Lisu has also been obtained an extra breast-cover (35.39.93) very similar to the type which belongs to the complete woman's costume and a head cloth (35.39.274).

In the fourth, complete woman's costume, acquired from one of the Riang tribes, Yang Hsek (fig. 20), we meet a new type of woman's costume. While the two first mentioned complete woman's costumes were skirt costumes and the third a caftan costume, both types consisting of several garments, this other type consists of only one garment, a long sleeveless gown with wide vertical red and white stripes. To this gown (35.39.492) a turban in plaid pattern in the colours bright red, black and yellow, and a pair of separate forearm sleeves (35.39.491) are worn. Woodthorpe writes in the year 1897 that the women of Yang Hsek wear strange long gowns which he calls "coats" not meaning actual coats for he compares them with sacks. He mentions that they have holes for the head and arms, very short sleeves and alternating bright red and white lengthwise stripes.¹ From 1932 we have a description by Scott, according to which the women of Riang Hsek wear brilliant red ponchos or short gowns of Karen type with a hole for the head and with white lengthwise stripes running from the shoulders down. Continuing, he says that if they wear anything more at least it can not be seen. The gown which he calls "the smock or jumper" is so short that the brass rings on the legs are exposed, and he adds that comparing the woman of Riang Hsek with the majority of the women of the mountain tribes one can not say that the Riang Hsek are "overdressed" but that their dress very much depends on the temperature.²

The fifth complete woman's costume was acquired from the other Riang tribe Yang Lam. It is a skirt costume (fig. 21). The skirt is short and closed (35.39.530). With it is worn a short sleeveless blouse (35.39.529) of Karen type and a turban (35.39.531). Scott says about the woman's costume of this tribe that the woman of Riang Lam wear a hand-woven skirt dyed with indigo which they have themselves cultivated. And he adds that this skirt is not open like the woman's skirt among the Burmese or the Shan but closed, reaching down to the ankles.³ The skirt in the woman's costume from Yang Lam is closed, as Scott mentions, but like the other skirts from the mountain tribes visited it is only of knee-length.

The same type of costume has been obtained from the Taungthu tribe (fig. 22). It is a skirt costume consisting of a closed skirt (35.39.404), and

¹ Cf. Woodthorpe, 1897, 27. Scott, 1932, 265.

² Scott, 1932, 265.

³ Scott, 1932, 264.

a sleeveless blouse of Karen type (35.39.403). Both skirt and blouse are black. "Sie hüllen sich ganz in Schwarz," says Scherman about the women in this tribe.¹ With the costume there are separate forearm sleeves (35.39.407) and open, draped leggings (35.39.405) as well as a turban of plaid cotton cloth in bright red and green. In addition there has also been brought back from this tribe still another pair of separate forearm sleeves (35.39.406).

There is also a skirt costume (fig. 23) which comes from the Taunggyo tribe. The skirt (35.39.399) is closed and with it there is worn a sleeveless blouse of Karen type (35.39.398) which is longer than the other blouses, covering most of the skirt. With the costume there are separate forearm sleeves (35.39.401) and open, draped leggings (35.39.400). On the head is worn a turban made of lengths of bright red flannel and black cotton cloth with woven-in patterns in brown and white.

Two complete woman's costumes, both skirt costumes, have been acquired from the Skaw Karen or the "white" Karen. One of them (fig. 24) consists of a short, closed skirt (35.39.801) and a sleeveless blouse (35.39.659) of Karen type.² The other costume (fig. 25) consists of an open, draped skirt (35.39.715) and a sleeveless blouse (35.39.714) of the same type as the above. Large flat straw hats, such as are worn by the women of Shan, complete both costumes. There is still another sleeveless blouse of Karen type from the Skaw Karen (35.39.658).

The tenth and last complete woman's costume (fig. 27) has been obtained from the Padaung tribe which belongs to the Bwe group of the Karen. This costume is also of the skirt type consisting of a knee-length closed skirt (35.39.625) and a sleeveless blouse of Karen type (35.39.624). As part of the costume there are a great number of metal spirals, some worn a-round the woman's throat to make it longer, and some in rows of rings around the legs just below the knees. As regards the woman's costume among the Padaung, Scott says that except for the metal rings it is of the same type as the woman's costume among the Karen-ni and describes it thus: "The coat is a long woven jumper with a v-shaped neck and short sleeves, slipped over the head . . the skirts are made without art and are usually a very narrow sack shape . . the surplus of the sack at the waist is caught up leaving a fold-over in front somewhat in the style of the Burmese woman's everyday skirt. But the Burmese women invariably

¹ Scherman, 1922, 83.

² Cf. Scott, 1932, 74.



Fig. 27. Woman's costume from the tribe Padaung. Kaun, Pekhong District. The costume consists of a sleeveless blouse (35.39.624) and a closed skirt (35.39.625). Metal rings round the neck and legs.

have theirs both wider and longer.”¹ As to the manner in which the women of the different Karen tribes wear their short skirts Marshall says: “The women of all these tribes wear the simplest kind of a skirt; it is a straight slip which, instead of being gathered about the waist, is drawn tight across the back, folded across the front, and the fullness tucked in at the waist line, thus allowing the action of the knees. The garment remains in place remarkably well, although no belt is used.”²

From Zayein there is a rather short, sleeveless, woman's blouse of the Karen type (35.39.740), and therefore we can assume that the costume of this tribe is a skirt type, since the Karen tribes use an open or closed skirt³ with such blouses.

From the Intha there is a similar sleeveless blouse of the Karen type (35.39.482) and even though this is not a Karen tribe I think we can assume that the complete costume has resembled the costume of these tribes and that the sleeveless blouse an open or closed skirt has been worn.

¹ Scott, 1932, 100.

² Marshall, 1922, 39 ff.

³ Cf. Marshall, 1922, fig. p. 39: Women's Garments, Sgaw Karen. A smock (“hse”) and a skirt (“ni”), Sgaw Karen, from the Pegu Hills, Toungoo District.

From the Karen-ni or the "Red Karen" there is the lower part of a closed skirt (35.39.622) said to have been worn by a woman, in which case doubtlessly in combination with a sleeveless blouse of the Karen type. The colour of this half skirt is bright red, the colour which has given the tribe its name, the "Red Karen".

Finally there are four skirts (35.39.212-214 and 35.39.216), about which we have no information as to whether they are men's or women's garments. We will thus not consider them at this point.

We shall now be able to see what conclusions can be drawn regarding the women's costume after the garments have been divided up according to tribes and where possible, collected into complete costumes.

One can state immediately that although women's garments outnumber the men's, and although they comprise many more complete costumes than do the men's garments, the conclusions which can be drawn are not as complete nor as interesting.

Among the women's garments we can immediately collect into a large group the costumes which are of the type "skirt costume". In the majority of the costumes in this group the skirt, which characterizes the type, is supplemented by the sleeveless blouse of Karen-type, "hse", by English authors called "smock or gabardine".¹ Skirt costumes with sleeveless blouse have been brought back from Skaw Karen (fig. 24, 25), from Padaung (fig. 27), from Taungthu (fig. 22) and judging from the separate garments, which did not make up complete costumes, this type is also found among the Zayein and Karen-ni. Thus, in short, we find the skirt costume with sleeveless blouse among all of the Karen tribes visited. From the Karen, who because of their endogamous marriage rules are the groups of tribes which have been most isolated,² the skirt costume with the sleeveless blouse of Karen type has none the less spread to the neighbouring tribes. We find the skirt costume among the Taungyo (fig. 23), a tribe which, according to Scherman, are dressed like the tribe Taungthu,³ which belongs to the Karen. We also find the skirt costume among the Yang Lam (fig. 21) and judging by the single blouse of Karen-type which has been brought back from the Intha, it is also found among the women of these boat people on lake Inle. The Karen blouse has also spread to tribes other than those visited by the Malaise couple, for example to the women of the tribe Lawa in northern Siam.⁴

¹ Cf. Marshall, 1922, 38. Scott, 1932, 74.

² Scherman, 1922, 80.

³ Scherman, 1922, 83.

⁴ Hutchinson, 1935, fig. p. 154, 172.

The skirt, supplemented with a jacket instead of the sleeveless blouse, we find towards the north among the women in the northernmost of the tribes visited, Kachin¹ and Maru (fig. 17 and 18).

Only two of the women's costumes brought back should be excluded from the large group consisting of examples of the skirt costume. Each of them represents a type of costume of its own.

One of these costumes is the gown costume which has been brought back from the tribe Yang Hsek (fig. 20), and which is composed of this single garment and a turban. The other is the caftan costume, which has been brought back from the tribe Lisu and is as complicated as the former is simple. Belonging to the caftan costume (fig. 19) there are in addition to the coatlike caftan, from which I have taken the name for this type of costume, a pair of trousers, a breast-cover, an apron, a belt, a turban and a head-band.

In the category of women's costumes in the tribes visited by the Malaise couple we can thus distinguish three types: the skirt costume, the gown costume, and the caftan costume.

The skirt, from which I have taken the name for the first type, is a southern element. We find it in the Burmese women's costume under the name of "tamein"² or "thamein"³. The Burmese women's skirt is, however, longer than the skirt, which is worn by the women of the mountain tribes and it is always open,⁴ never sewn together into a cylinder. Wearing this Burmese "tamein" and walking in a certain manner the woman did not reveal more than was desirable; nowadays the "tamein" has been replaced by the closed "sarong" sewn together in tube-shape.⁵ It is draped tightly around the body so that the superfluous width forms a wide perpendicular fold in front. In Burma this long closed skirt is usually called "longyi",⁶ a name which comes from India where, according to Scherman, any piece of cloth is called "lungi",⁷ whether it be a turban cloth, breast-cover, or loin garment. The women of Shan also wear a long closed skirt often made of velvet decorated with silk sewn on in lengthwise stripes separated by appliquéed gold bands.⁸

¹ Cf. Wehrli, 1904, 42. Gilhodes, 1910, 620. Milne, 1910, 133. Gebauer, 1912, 465. Shway Yoe, 1910, 73.

² Philips, 1951, 118.

³ Scherman, 1922, 10, "*Thamein*", note 1, "*Birmanische Schreibung thamin, Aussprache thamen*".

⁴ Scherman, 1922, 10. Mützel, 1925, 66.

⁵ Philips, 1951, 118.

⁶ Philips, 1951, 118.

⁷ Scherman, 1922, 24 ff.

⁸ Milne, 1910, 80.

Thus in the women's costume among the mountain tribes studied, we find the southern element which we may consider the skirt to be, but in a somewhat shorter form than among the peoples of higher culture.

Regarding the upper garments, the sleeveless blouse which belongs to the skirt costume is a special Karen garment, while according to Scherman jackets were originally unknown in Burma, which also means that it was unknown among the mountain tribes living in Burma. Jackets have come to Burma from China or India; the earlier jackets show Indian cut.¹

The next type is the gown costume, of which there is one example (fig. 20). This costume can be considered the oldest form of Karen costume, and the gown, which in this type of costume is the only garment, can be considered the predecessor of the Karen blouse. It can reasonably be considered a type of costume created among and by the Karen from whom it has spread to neighbouring tribes. Thus the specimen examined was not acquired among any of the Karen tribes but from the Riang tribe Yang Hsek.

The third and last type of women's costume is, finally, the caftan costume, which is the most complicated consisting of several garments in addition to the caftan from which I have named this type of costume. For this type as well we have only one specimen, acquired among the Lisu (fig. 19). The caftan is an element from central Asia. We find it as the main garment for both men and women from the Kirgis steppe to Japan, and it is the main garment for both men and women in Tibet.² From this locality it may have come to Highland Burma. One can expect to find northern Tibetan elements³ among the Lisu and it is not surprising that we should find these elements represented in the dress also. Not only do the caftan and its cut point towards Tibet but possibly also the apron. In the Tibetan women's costume the apron is made of three lengths of woolen or silk cloth horizontally striped, sewn together length-wise, and it is worn over the caftan, whether the latter is of silk or leather. A Tibetan women's costume in the Ethnographical Department at the National Museum in Copenhagen (R. 248) shows that when the long-sleeved caftan is complemented with a sleeveless overcaftan, the apron is worn tied *over* the garments.

In addition to the apron the women's costume from Lisu has also a breast-cover which is worn *under* the caftan, while the apron is worn over it. The breast-cover must also be considered a northern element. Hatt

¹ Scherman, 1922, 14.

² Cf. MacDonald, 1929, 164.

³ Cf. Heine-Geldern, 1923, 839.

states that the breast-cover is rather general in boreal and Arctic regions.¹ However, a remarkable point about the two costume elements, apron and breast-cover, is that, while the apron does not show a tendency to extend upwards and to spread out over the section covered by the breast cloth (with the exception of the European pinafore aprons, which are of no interest in this connection), the breast-cover has in some cases become so long that the lower part can be tied with bands about the waist, and here one actually has a phenomenon which can no longer be expressed by the term "breast-cover". Such a long breast-cover which in addition to the breast also covers the lower part of the body is used under a caftan among the Tungus. Koppers very effectively describes this elongated breast-cover, which has become a sort of apron as "Brustlatz und Schürze in einem".²

The apron worn over the caftan and woven of elm bast we find as part of the women's costume among the Ainu on the northern islands of Japan. There can be no doubt that both the breast-cover and the apron with their possibility of covering the front-opening of the caftan and in this way protecting the body are northern elements in the costume from Highland Burma — northern elements also in the costumes of tribes outside those visited by the Malaise couple. Thus we find the breast-cover as an accessory to both the men's and the women's costume among the Puli Akha,³ and on the basis of similarity in costume, where the breast-cover is an outstanding element, Koppers suggests a cultural connection between the Puli Akha on the one hand and the Miao and Tungu on the other.⁴ The apron is found as an element in the women's costume among the Palaung where, as in the case of the Lisu, it is double. Among the Palaung the double apron in front is supplemented with a second apron worn at the back and belonging to a skirt costume consisting of closed skirt and sleeveless blouse of the Karen type.

While both the caftan itself in the women's costume from Lisu and the accessory breast-cover and apron seems to be northern Tibetan and north Asian elements, the rather short trousers belonging to the costume show in their form and cut a connection with the trousers used by the women among the Lolo (cf. p. 37, note 2). According to Lunet de Lajonquière⁵ the same type of trousers, though perhaps a little longer and wider, are

¹ Hatt, 1914, 130.

² Koppers, 1930, 308.

³ Izikowitz, 1943, 136.

⁴ Koppers, 1930, 315 ff.

⁵ Lunet de Lajonquière, 1906, 223, fig. 33, 34. Cf. Note 16 (The Tribes).

found among the women of the tribe Man côc or Yao in northern Tonkin. The costume is described thus: "Un pantalon large qui descend jusqu'aux chevilles. . . . Un vêtement de dessus semblable à une lévite ouverte, à longues basques. Il se boutonne très bas par devant, à hauteur de la ceinture, dégageant la pièce d'étoffe qui couvre la poitrine . . ." Thus we see a certain similarity between the costume brought back from the Lisu and the costume from this tribe which because of its name is often confused with the Lisu or Yao Yin.

Trousers as a part of the woman's caftan costume are known from both Tibet and Mongolia, but the trousers used by the women are longer trousers than the knee-length trousers which indicate Yünnan source.

If we now summarize the three types of costume it would appear that the skirt costume represents the southern influence in the women's costume among these mountain tribes in Highland Burma, while the caftan costume with its different elements represents a corresponding northern, central Asian tradition complemented by influence from Yünnan. Finally, the third type of costume, the gown costume, must be considered a local phenomenon, a relic, an older type of costume which appeared among and was created by the Karen tribes.

If we examine how the three costume types are distributed among women of the language groups within the mountain tribes here investigated, it will be seen that the caftan costume is used among the Lisu who belong to the Tibetan-Burmese language group; the gown costume is from Yang Hsek which belong to the Mon-khmer language group; while the skirt costume is found among both the tribes of the Mon-khmer language group (Yang Lam), among tribes belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese language group (Kachin, Maru, Intha and Taungyo) and among the tribes of the Siamese-Chinese language group (Taungthu, Karen-ni, Skaw Karen and Padaung).

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF COSTUME

Language groups	Tribes	Skirt costume	Gown costume	Caftan costume	Trouser costume
Tibetan	Kachin	x o			(x)
Burmese	Maru	(x) o			
"	Lisu			x o	x
"	Intha	o ?			
"	Taungyo	o			
Mon-Khmer	Yang Hsek	x ?	o		x ?
"	Yang Lam	o			x
Siamese	Skaw	x o	x		
Chinese	Karen				
"	Taungthu	o			
"	Karen-ni	o			x
"	Zayein	o ?			x
"	Padaung	o			x

x = man's costume

o = woman's costume

() = information available

? = uncertain

CONCLUSION

The man's and woman's costumes have now been taken up separately. In conclusion they will be treated under one heading, regarding type and cut of costume. In the man's costume among the Riang we have found ancient Chinese elements in the form of a pair of trousers of compound type, a combination of leggings and breech-cloth. As for the woman's costume among the Riang tribes, there has been brought back from Yang Hsek a gown costume of Karen type and from Yang Lam a skirt costume consisting of a closed skirt and a sleeveless blouse of Karen type. Judging by the two costumes it would seem that the women of the Riang tribes have acquired a costume, or taken over a costume from the Karen tribes which have immigrated at a later period.

As to the Karen tribes' own costume: As the man's costume we find a trouser costume among the three tribes Karen-ni, Zayein and Padaung. As to the cut, we find breech-cloths among the Zayein and a compound form of breech-cloth and leggings among the two other tribes. That this trouser costume is not the only type of man's costume among the Karen tribes is shown by the material brought back from the Skaw Karen. From this tribe we have obtained a man's costume of the type cloak costume and a skirt costume, that is to say, it is only the skirt, of closed type, which has been obtained. Possibly one has worn with this a jacket similar to the one acquired from the Riang tribe Yang Lam.

The women's costume among all the Karen tribes consists of a skirt costume with a predominant use of the closed skirt; only one example of the open skirt has been acquired from the Skaw Karen. With these skirts the women wear the sleeveless Karen blouse. Both the sleeveless cloak and the sleeveless blouse have, as mentioned above, developed from the ordinary poncho. The blouse has developed from the cloak, and both garments can be considered peculiar to this tribe.

It is not only to the Riang tribes that the Karen tribes have brought their characteristic poncho gown and poncho blouse. We also find the Karen blouse being worn by the women of the Tibetan Burmese tribes Intha and Taungyo. It is from the latter tribe that the accessory skirt

comes and it is of the closed type. About the man's costume in these tribes the material obtained gives us no information. From the Tibetan-Burmese tribes Kachin there has come a man's jacket of poncho cut, and jackets as part of the woman's costume have been brought back from Kachin and the Maru tribe, also Tibetan-Burmese, and accessory to these, skirts of both closed and open type. The jackets in the costume of the mountain tribes of Highland Burma can have come from both India and China. The woman's jacket from Maru shows the right-hand closure by overlapping which is characteristic of Chinese jackets.

From the tribe Lisu, which also belongs to the Tibetan Burmese language group, has been obtained the only pair of trousers which show the genuine legging cut. They belong to a man's costume consisting of jacket, waistcoat and trousers, which together with an extra waistcoat, are said to have come from China. From the same tribe there is a man's and woman's costume which are remarkable in that they are alike in their head elements for both sexes, and in that they are of a different type from the other costumes. The main garment in both the man's and woman's costume is the coat-like caftan of knee-length. The cut here is the same as that of the Tibetan caftans, that is, the basis is the ordinary poncho and the right-hand closure is made by underlapping with an extra front piece sewn on inside at the right. With this caftan both the men and women wear knee-length trousers which in cut show a compound form of leggings and breech-cloths. To the northern element, which the caftan represents, there has in the woman's costume been added two other northern elements, the breast-cover and the apron. This caftan costume worn by both men and women of the tribe Lisu is a link connecting this tribe to the central Asian costume region, while the other mountain tribes which the Malaise couple visited in the Shan states of Burma belong, with their skirt costumes worn by both men and women, within the S. E. Asian costume region.

RESUMÉ

Twelve mountain tribes, which at that time inhabited the Shan states of Highland Burma, were visited in 1934 by Ebba and René Malaise. The twelve tribes were Kachin, Maru, Lisu, Intha and Taungyo of the Tibetan-Burmese language group; Yang Hsek and Yang Lam of the Mon-khmer language group, and finally the five Karen tribes: Skaw Karen, Taungthu, Karen-ni, Zayein and Padaung representing the Siamese-Chinese language group.

The material obtained has been taken care of and exhibited at the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum. The collection consists of 67 garments, which in this paper have been divided into the following groups: sleeveless blouses and sleeveless gowns; jackets, caftans and waistcoats; skirts, trousers and aprons; forearm sleeves, leggings and breast-covers; and finally pieces of cloth which are used as turbans, belts, etc.

The garments have been described and studied with special consideration to their cut. From this it becomes clear that both blouses and gowns have developed from the ordinary poncho. The same is true of jackets with or without sleeves and of caftans, while the waistcoats have developed from a poncho composed of a front and back piece, a shoulder-seam poncho. The waistcoats are said to be Chinese and their cut can be considered a foreign element among the costumes of these mountain tribes where the garments which rest on the shoulders have the ordinary poncho cut. Of garments resting on the hips we have skirts, which are found in both open form as among the Naga tribes of Assam, and in a closed form corresponding to the Malayan sarong. Also resting on the hips are the trousers. With one exception they are of knee-length and are mainly a compound form of leggings and loin-cloth which is found in both Mongolia and China. One pair which as to cut are genuine breech-cloths, has been acquired from the tribe Zayein, while another pair, which in cut is a genuine legging type, has been obtained from the tribe Lisu but is said to be purely Chinese.

The material in the costumes is mainly cotton cloth. Also used are hemp cloth, velvet and as decoration bright red flannel. While the cotton and hemp cloth are hand-woven and home made; the velvet and flannel

are bought from the merchant at the markets in the lowlands, to which the mountain tribes come when they wish to make purchases.

The colours are all shades of blue from black-blue to light blue made by means of indigo which the tribes cultivate themselves. The colours red and yellow are made from imported dye stuffs.

Special garments for arms and legs are characteristic elements in the dress of these mountain tribes. As accessories of the women's costume separate forearm sleeves are used and the costumes for both sexes are supplemented with cylindershaped or open, draped leggings. After the garments have been studied in groups they have, where possible, been collected into complete costumes, the different types of which have been determined. It appears that there are the following types: skirt costume, gown costume and caftan costume with hidden trousers worn by both men and women, and trouser costume with visible trousers as a special man's costume.

From the table (p. 73) showing the distribution of the types of costume we see that among the Karen tribes which belong to the Siamese-Chinese language group, the skirt costume dominates as the woman's dress. Only from the Skaw Karen we have a skirt costume as a man's dress, otherwise the man's costume is of trouser type. The women wear with the skirt costume the sleeveless blouse which has developed from the sleeveless gown which was originally the single garment for men and young women. Of this gown we have one specimen from the Karen tribes which has been worn by a man, and comes from the Skaw Karen.

Among the Tibetan-Burmese tribes Kachin, Maru and Lisu, both the skirt costume with jacket and the caftan costume are worn by both sexes. It is true that we have trousers as a man's garment from the tribe Lisu and there is information about a trouser costume for men among the tribe Kachin but it would seem that from the material acquired a similar costume for both sexes is more usual among the Tibetan-Burmese tribes than among the Siamese Chinese. It also appears from this material that closed garments like the gown and blouse are characteristic of the Siamese-Chinese tribes, while garments opening at the front such as jackets and caftans are characteristic of the Tibetan-Burmese tribes.

Regarding the two Riang tribes, according to the material studied it appears that these tribes have got their costume from Karen tribes. From these the Riang tribes have taken over the sleeveless blouse and the sleeveless gown.

In order not to draw too far-reaching conclusions from the limited

material available we must content ourselves with determining that the appearance of the open caftan among the Tibetan-Burmese tribe Lisu in connection with the use of jackets opening at the front, ties this tribe to central Asia and China, while the other tribes visited by Mr. and Mrs. Malaise are connected, in the matter of costume, with the S. E. Asian region.

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